The Stake in Stevenson's Victory

THE Nation

October 18, 1952

WHAT YOU LOSE IF EISENHOWER WINS

A Factual Record of What the Captive Candidate of Big Business, Taft, and the Old Guard Would Take Away from the Majority of the American People

OCT 24 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Louisiana Travesty

New Orleans

THE note of low comedy is ineradicable from the public affairs of the state of Louisiana. Bourbons and demagogues wield the pig's bladder and the bull whip alternately. Characteristically, state officials came a cropper when they recently launched an anti-Communist drive.

The last session of the Louisiana legislature passed a Communist-control act which declared that all Communists and members of Communist fronts who intend to stay in the state more than five days must register with the Department of Public Safety. The penalty for non-registration is a fine of $1,000 to $10,000 and a jail term of two to ten years. Persons registering must give their occupations and organizational ties.

There was virtually no opposition to this dubious measure. Only the New Orleans League of Women Voters lobbied mildly against it. The New Orleans *Item* has consistently opposed McCarthyism, the one paper in the state to do so, but it did not say a word about this home-bred eruption of the plague. The bill passed the state senate with but one dissenting vote.

The official in charge of administering the law, Colonel Francis C. Grevenberg, state superintendent of police, set September 1 to 15 as the registration period and during those two weeks issued frequent press releases urging the reds to stand up and be counted. As a spur to compliance, he hinted darkly of having obtained information from the F. B. I. But the registration deadline passed and the rolls remained blank.

Then on September 23 the state police arrested two New Orleans men, Louis Lockett and Robert Burns, both Negroes, for violating the control act. It seems that in filling out the required forms when they registered to vote they had declared, "I am now affiliated with the Communist Party." Lockett explained how they had happened to do it. "There's a line on the registration blank for voting," he said, "that says something like 'I am now affiliated with the blank party.' You fill in the blank 'Republican' or 'Democrat.' But Burns and I both read the thing to say, 'I am *not* affiliated with the blank party.' Being veterans and having had lots of non-Communist forms to sign before, we inserted the word Communist to show we were not affiliated with that party. We're both good Democrats."

Lockett was discharged from the army medical corps two months ago and is still in the reserve. During World War II he served in the Coast Guard. Burns was honorably discharged a year ago after a four-year hitch in the air force, including service in Korea.

The district attorney's office accepted the charges against the two men, and they were sent to the parish jail, unable to raise the required $5,000 bail.

Fantastic as the incident is, it reveals some sinister facts about Louisiana. First in illiteracy in the union, the state uses an extremely complicated voting registration form and expects the applicant to fill it out without assistance and to the satisfaction of the registrar. Registrars have been heard to boast that "not even a college Ph.D. could get on the books if we didn't want him to."

In addition, the state police's choice of its initial victims was highly significant. At work was the ageless equation of bigotry: a Negro who tries to vote is "uppity" and therefore is probably a red. The larger intention behind the arrests, whether they hold up in court or not, was to intimidate further the prospective Negro voter, who already has good reason to suspect bias in the mechanics of vote registration.

To give due credit to the perspicacity of the state police, they made the best possible application—for their purposes—of a completely pointless law. All has been quiet on the Louisiana labor front; no challenges to racial segregation have assumed serious form; the Progressive Party is defunct. But to the discomfort of the Dixiecrats, the qualified Negro electorate has been booming.

More than 95,000 Negroes are now registered to vote in Louisiana as against about 25,000 in 1948. In the Democratic primary this year the first Negro since Reconstruction days ran for governor and finished fifth in a field of seven. Court decisions have opened the rolls in nearly three-quarters of the state's parishes, or counties.

It is doubtful that any number of "control" laws can stop this march to the polls. But Louisiana's dextrous police have vividly demonstrated that the truncheon designed to maim civil liberties can be easily used against civil rights. For this reason, the little legal farce deserves a moment of serious contemplation by the rest of the nation.

ALFRED MAUND

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WHAT YOU LOSE IF EISENHOWER WINS

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THE Nation

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The Stake in Stevenson's Victory

THE NATION indorses Adlai E. Stevenson for President of the United States. We do so without concealing or minimizing our differences with him and the Democratic Party on several important issues. We do so because, after weighing soberly the policies and practices of both parties and candidates, we believe the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower would be a disaster for the country and perhaps for the world.

The facts on which we have based our decision are given in detail in a special section of this issue—What You Lose if Eisenhower Wins. That any liberal who reads those facts will fail to arrive at the same conclusion we cannot believe.

Our chief difference with Governor Stevenson is on his handling of the issue of communism. As we pointed out last week, he seems to us to be exaggerating both the danger of communism in America and the measures required to deal with it. In his Detroit speech on October 7 he defended the Smith act, approved putting Communist leaders "behind bars," gave unqualified praise to the F. B. I., and pointed with satisfaction to the 1,500 federal employees ousted for "doubtful loyalty." In our opinion this wholesale indorsement of the government's internal-security program was an unfortunate concession to current hysteria, and we believe it will only strengthen the hand of the McCarthy fanatics.

The Nation is opposed to communism. We have no doubt that there are spies working for the Soviet government in this country. We believe they should be ferreted out and punished by legal methods. But we are in complete disagreement with the idea that communism as a doctrine or Communists as such constitute a serious threat to our form of government and our way of life. Those who hold this idea—among them the Republican candidate and his backers—betray a basic lack of confidence in the democratic system.

In our view communism is an anachronism in America. It offers no threat to a highly industrialized, highly productive economy like our own so long as that economy functions effectively to provide a decent standard of living, and so long as individual liberty continues to flourish under democratic safeguards. It is only in countries whose people are struggling under the burden of poverty, ignorance, and oppression that communism exercises an understandable appeal.

We are disappointed, as we have said, that Governor Stevenson failed to deal with the Communist issue in these terms. In spite of this we have confidence in his essential democracy and liberalism, his passionate love for America, his concern for human freedom. We are deeply impressed by his personal integrity, his willingness to take positions contrary to those held by important groups of potential supporters. We share his belief that government can and must serve the people, and we trust his assurance that the best features of the New and Fair Deals will be continued and improved.

GENERAL EISENHOWER is today the willing spokesman of big business and the most reactionary elements in the Republican Party. We have been astonished, as well as horrified, by his readiness to accept these groups, abandoning the more liberal leaders who fought and won the battle for his nomination at Chicago. We have been shocked, too, by his public indorsement of McCarthy and Jenner, and by his cool repudiation of national policies which he helped to shape during and after the war.

Today Eisenhower has behind him the concentrated economic, financial, and industrial power of the country. His candidacy has unified American reaction, North and South, East and West. His following embraces the "angry right" of the Republican Party, which he was supposed to have routed at the Chicago convention, the Dixiecrats, and beyond these the semi-fascist rabble to whom McCarthy and MacArthur are heroes.

We no longer have any doubt that an Eisenhower victory would endanger the social gains of the last twenty-five years and slam the door on further reform; that it would intensify the drive against civil liberties, greatly strengthen the military–big business influence in government, and increase the power of the Dixiecrats.

In other countries his victory would be taken as an indication that the United States had ruled out the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the cold war. Indeed, Eisenhower's pronouncements on foreign policy —"liberation" for Eastern Europe and China, and

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"Asians against Asians"—have already been interpreted abroad in this sense. A recent editorial comment in the London *Tribune* on the liberation proposal was echoed with greater or less vehemence in many journals:

> The policy in fact is one of a general crusade against communism to be waged without end until this doctrine of government is confined to the borders of Russia itself. Why the crusade should stop at this point is not so clear. The case for destroying communism in Russia should surely be no less strong than the case for destroying it in China. However, the lapse of logic is merely an illustration of the criminal insanity which underlies the whole program. The plain fact is that General Eisenhower is outlining a policy to which he knows no Russian government could possibly give its acceptance. He thus rules out any faint possibility of negotiation and invites us to a conquest, as the Russians would see it, more formidable by far than anything which ever filled the mind of man before.

GOVERNOR STEVENSON, on the other hand, while insisting that negotiations with the Russians should be based on strength, has firmly advocated making every effort to achieve peaceful coexistence:

> Coexistence is not a form of passive acceptance of things as they are. It is waging a contest between freedom and tyranny by peaceful means. It will involve negotiation and adjustment—compromise but not appeasement—and I will never shrink from these if they would advance the world toward a secure peace.

He has denounced the suggestion that we should instigate civil war in satellite countries, characterizing this idea as "dangerous, reckless, foolish . . . and likely to lead to the sacrifice of the lives of the very people whom we hope to liberate." He has said: "We must never close our minds or freeze our positions. We must strive constantly to break the deadlock in our atomic discussions."

Governor Stevenson offers the country a constructive domestic policy geared to the concept of improving the standard of living of all groups in our community. He offers the world a foreign policy geared to the concept that peace and the survival of democracy can be secured only by rescuing from ignorance and misery the masses of humanity now involved in a great revolutionary ferment. These positions are more, we believe, than mere campaign promises. The token of their good faith is Stevenson's own record and the achievements of the Democratic Party under Roosevelt and Truman.

The Republican record is one of opposition to every progressive policy at home and abroad. The leaders chiefly responsible for that record are the men who control the mind and policies of Eisenhower.

This year, according to recent polls, independent voters form at least half of the electorate; more than in any previous election they will determine the outcome. Be-

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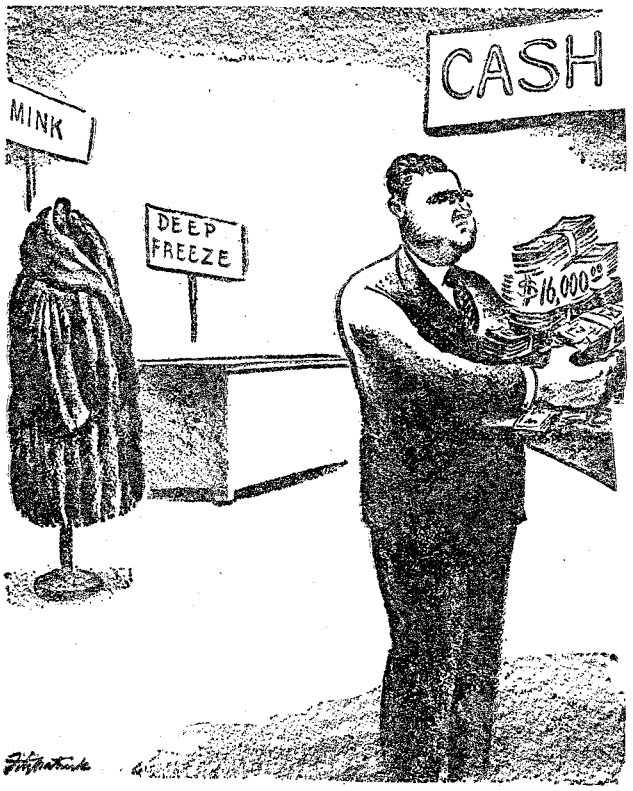
cause of this the independent voter carries an immense and unprecedented responsibility. *The Nation's* readers are almost without exception both liberal and independent. They vote not according to party labels but according to their best judgment as to candidates and issues. To all of them we say: Failure to recognize that there is a clear choice between Eisenhower and Stevenson is to misread the time-table by which we live. To elect Stevenson is the only possible choice for the independent voter.

Fitzpatrick on the Campaign

Pay Dirt

"Chin Up Now, and Carry On!"



The Practical Mr. Nixon

Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Off on a Strange Crusade

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WHAT *YOU LOSE* IF EISENHOWER *WINS*

The Republican Record Exposed

WHEN Dwight D. Eisenhower became the Republican candidate for the Presidency of the United States, he brought with him the untarnished glamour of the general who had led the Allied forces to victory in World War II and the prestige of the head of NATO. He commanded the respect of the entire American community. Today, three months after his nomination, he stands revealed as a man with a consuming desire for the Presidency—a reactionary, a compromiser, ready to concede principle to expediency in order to win.

For proof, look at the record. Today General Eisenhower has publicly embraced the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party, represented by Senators Robert A. Taft, Joseph R. McCarthy, William E. Jenner, Harry P. Cain, and Richard M. Nixon, and has accepted as his own the program of the Republican Old Guard.

If Ike wins, his next in command will be Richard Nixon, creature of the real-estate, oil, and China lobbies, second only to McCarthy in the tactic of smear and run. Vanished are the important Republican liberals who initiated the boom for Ike as part of a new deal for the Republican Party.

Who Wins with Ike?

Is this a temporary retreat, typical of all political campaigns, that can be reversed once the election is over and Ike has won? No. If Ike wins, the Old Guard in the Republican Party will hold the positions of power. Unschooled in civilian affairs, Ike, more than most Presidents, will be dependent upon Congress. In a Republican Congress the dominant figure will be Senator Taft—head of the Republican Party's Policy Committee, arch-isolationist, the man who voted against the Marshall Plan, the Mutual Security Program, Point Four, wage-and-price controls; joint author of the Taft-Hartley act; a Senator who puts economy above security and has opposed virtually every measure to improve the living standard of the American people.

It is the Taft–Old Guard program that Eisenhower is offering as his formula for victory. Is it likely that he can or will discard Taft or the program if he wins?

The Interests Behind Ike

That Ike should have capitulated to Taft and McCarthy, that he should have embraced Cain and Jenner and all the Republican "dinosaurs," is not surprising if one examines his sponsors.

Not a single important section of industrial power is behind Stevenson. Behind Eisenhower stand the chief banking, oil, steel, rubber, coal, and chemical interests, the private utilities, the armament industry, the automobile, electric-products, and food industries.

The plan to make Eisenhower President was formulated in 1945 by four of the most powerful dynasties in this country—the Rockefellers, Mellons, Morgans, and du Ponts. These four families have direct assets of over five billion dollars. They have immediate access to assets of over fifty billion.

The real "brain trust" behind Dwight D. Eisenhower, representing these interests, consists of three men—Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank; Thomas J. Parkinson, president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society; and Thomas J. Watson, chairman of International Business Machines. These three, as trustees of Columbia University, arranged that the presidency of that institution be offered to Eisenhower as his introduction into civilian life and as the first step in grooming him for the Presidency of the United States.

In July, 1952, the du Pont interests, which had strongly favored Robert A. Taft for President, were won over to Eisenhower's candidacy by the appointment of Arthur E. Summerfield as chairman of the Republican National Committee. Mr. Summerfield is one of the largest automobile dealers in the country and through his Chevrolet agency is linked closely to General Motors, controlled by the du Ponts.

ARE YOU an industrial worker, a white-collar worker, a farmer, a small business man, a professional, a member of a minority group? Whoever you are, this is what you have to lose if Eisenhower wins:

A fair chance for peace, an economy geared to the needs of the ordinary citizen, relief from inflation, equitable distribution of taxes, public development of natural resources in the public interest, the return to an America free from fear and free from want.

Look at the record and judge for yourself.

Are You an Industrial Worker?

If you are, you know that since 1932, under the New Deal and Fair Deal, labor's average wage has risen 90 per cent, while the average number of hours worked has decreased. Time and a half for overtime is accepted practice; paid holidays and vacations are provided by many employers. These gains were obtained by the workers themselves acting through their unions. But their right to organize freely and to bargain collectively was given great impetus in 1933, when Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, and again in 1935 when the Wagner act was passed. Progress continued under successive Democratic administrations which recognized that greater well-being for workers meant greater well-being for the country.

In 1947 a major blow at the rights of labor was struck by the Taft-Hartley law, sponsored by Senator Taft and Representative Fred Hartley, both Republicans. President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, but the Republican majority overrode his veto. The nature of the law is best revealed by the fact that organized labor unanimously opposed it while the National Association of Manufacturers spent $3,600,000 trying to sell it to the American public.

Taft-Hartley is an attempt to hobble free labor unions. It gives the employer the power to prevent mass picketing, the

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power to enforce the open shop, the power to destroy union treasuries by damage claims. It imposes upon union leaders the infamous loyalty oath which no enemy of America would refuse to take and no loyal American needs to take. It has prevented hundreds of thousands of workers from improving their lot through unionization.

In the five years before the Taft-Hartley act was passed, the labor force was increased by 900,000 persons and union membership by 5,000,000. Since 1947 the labor force has increased by 4,500,000 persons, but unions have gained only 800,000 new members.

Under the law, fines and damage suits have cost the United Mine Workers $5,470,000, the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department $2,000,000, the International Typographical Union of the A. F. of L. $11,000,000. Thirty damage suits totaling $30,000,000 have been brought against the Oil Workers Union of the C. I. O., and twenty-five injunctions and two thousand contempt charges have been piled on members of the union.

The United Packinghouse Workers face a $2,756,000 damage suit brought by Armour and Company. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union was fined $750,000 for picketing the Juneau Spruce Company of Alaska in a dispute with the International Woodworkers in 1950. The National Association of Marine Cooks and Stewards has paid $65,000 worth of penalties in employers' suits since the Taft-Hartley law was passed. The United Automobile Workers in Indiana is being sued for $190,000 in damages, the New York Teamsters for $3,000,000.

The obvious intent of these actions is to deplete union treasuries, weaken organization, and reduce benefits to union members.

The 1952 Republican platform favors the retention of the Taft-Hartley act, though Eisenhower has said he wants some amendments to it. Contrast this with the Democratic platform's opposition to the law and the outspoken demand for its repeal by Governor Stevenson.

If Ike and his crew win, *Robert A. Taft, principal author of the Taft-Hartley act, would become chairman of the Senate's Labor Committee in control of all labor legislation.*

Civil Liberties, the Professional, and the Public

If you are a lawyer, teacher, writer, minister, librarian, actor, artist, doctor, then your whole future depends upon the outcome of this election. For you must have freedom of thought, association, speech, and action in order to function. Upon your freedom depends the society of the future.

Goebbels taught the world the value of the big lie. He also taught the world how to destroy opposition by shackling the freedom of the leadership groups. These techniques have already appeared on the American scene. The requirement of loyalty oaths is spreading through the professions. Book purges are frequent. The pressure of economic boycott has virtually regimented the entertainment industry and has invaded the teaching and scientific worlds. Fear of economic and social ostracism is creating a society of informers. Black and gray lists and private Gestapos are a commonplace. Trial by slander and insinuation is replacing due process under the laws of evidence.

The freedom of the professional groups was first attacked; but the intention is to strike at every sector of the community. Carried to its logical conclusion, this campaign would make the America of tomorrow just another totalitarian country in which one must think and act as the ruling clique orders.

Who is responsible for the attempt to impose regimentation on America? John E. Rankin, the Democratic reactionary from Mississippi, gave it its real start in 1945, when he succeeded in winning permanent life for the House Un-American Activities Committee. The measure was passed by the votes of 137 Republicans and 70 Democrats, 63 of whom were from the South.

The "success" of the House Un-American Activities Committee in destroying reputations, undermining constitutional safeguards, and wrecking careers encouraged the greatest attempt yet made to destroy the very foundations of American democracy. The present leader of this undertaking is Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Since 1949 he has based his career on making repeated, unproved, and slanderous charges that our government, and particularly the Department of State, is infested with Communists. Without absolving the Administration of responsibility for unjust acts under the federal loyalty program, the most serious attack on civil liberties has been the work of the Republican-Dixiecrat congressional coalition.

The go-ahead signal for McCarthy came from Senator Taft, chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. It was Taft who provided McCarthy as a keynoter for the Republican convention. It was Taft and his associates who brought about Eisenhower's indorsement of McCarthy—of the man who called Secretary of Defense Marshall "a man steeped in falsehood." Eisenhower owed his selection as Supreme Commander to General Marshall.

Speaking in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he was introduced by McCarthy, Eisenhower urged McCarthy's reelection on the ground that the Wisconsin Senator and he saw eye to eye on the need "of ridding this government of the incompetents, the dishonest, and, above all, the subversive and disloyal," and that they differed only as to "methods."

Would Eisenhower repudiate McCarthy once both had won? It is hardly likely. *If the Republicans gain control of the Senate, McCarthy will become chairman of the Committee on Government Expenditure—with the power to investigate every government department. If Eisenhower wins, McCarthyism will be not only respectable but the measuring rod of American practice. And perhaps the last opportunity to win the fight for constitutional freedoms will have vanished.*

Are You a Farmer?

The struggle of the American farmer against poverty is an epic one. In the twenty years since 1932 the farmer has made marked progress toward achieving a fair living standard, thanks to price supports and marketing clearances. The government has also been of incalculable aid in showing farmers how to conserve the soil, achieve farm ownership, benefit from research, get credit at reasonable rates, instal electricity and telephones.

Farm output has risen 75 per cent since 1932. Ten billion dollars has been added to the farmers' gross income—an increase of nearly one-third. In 1951

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the average farmer's net income was $2,800, not large but almost ten times what he earned in 1932. Three-fourths of the farmers own their own farms.

Can these gains be held and continued under a Republican Administration? The Republican Party platform makes a series of promises to the farmer. How do promise and performance compare?

The record of the Republican Party is a clear contradiction of the pledges of its principal candidate and of its own equivocal platform. The Republican Eightieth Congress (1947-48) proved its true intentions by cutting the number of commodities to be supported, reducing price floors and commodity loans, and limiting the ability of the Commodity Credit Corporation to acquire new storage facilities.

Since 1948 the Democratic leadership has succeeded in putting price supports back at 90 per cent of parity through 1954, and has increased the borrowing capacity of the C. C. C. by two billion dollars. This in the face of Republican opposition.

In 1950 all the Senate Republicans and 56 per cent of the House Republicans voted against raising the borrowing power of the C. C. C. by that amount to insure an adequate loan program.

In 1952, 53 per cent of the House Republicans voted against straight 90 per cent of parity price supports.

In 1952 four out of five Republican Senators voted to cut soil-conservation funds from $280,000,000 to $150,000,000, thus maintaining their consistent opposition to the Soil Erosion Act, which was passed in 1935 over Republican opposition.

In 1947, 82 per cent of the Republican Senators voted against conservation payments to farmers. In 1948, 93 per cent opposed appropriations for soil-conservation payments. In 1951, 80 per cent voted against the soil-conservation program in its entirety.

Although the Republican Party now urges the development of rural electrification and communication, it has consistently opposed this ever since 1943.

In 1943, 73 per cent of the House Republicans voted against adequate funds for rural electrification, funds intended to expand transmission lines and to service additional areas. Three years later 40 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted against funds for constructing public electric-generating plants.

In 1947 the Republicans tried to cripple the Rural Electrification Administration by slashing appropriations. In 1951, 86 per cent of the House Republicans voted for an amendment which, had it passed, would have turned over the control of publicly developed power in the rural areas, not to the R. E. A., but to the power interests.

The era of agricultural surpluses is gone. To meet the growing food needs of a growing population (5,840 more tons of food per day were required in 1952 than in 1951), the fertility of the soil and the productivity of the farmer must be raised to the highest possible level. Yet as recently as July, 1951, three-fourths of the Senate Republicans voted to slash funds for getting news of research progress to farmers, even though this knowledge meant millions of dollars of savings to the farmer and to the consumer.

The Choice for the Small Business Man

There are four million independent business men in the United States today. Like the farmers, they have improved their lot, thanks in part to the policies of a friendly Administration.

The Republican platform promises to aid small business "in every practical way." But the Republican record shows that its primary interest is the protection of big business.

In 1947, for example, 91 per cent of the Republicans in the Senate voted to kill a million-dollar appropriation for anti-monopoly enforcement by the Federal Trade Commission. Again, in 1947, 93 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted to exempt railroads from the anti-trust laws and overrode President Truman's veto of this exemption.

The small business man has been helped since 1947 by some $576,000,000 worth of loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 99 per cent of which were repaid. In the last session of Congress, Republican leaders tried to abolish the R. F. C.

If the Republicans come to power, the bankers will probably win their fight to raise interest rates, and as a result small business can be pushed to the wall. This despite the fact that in the five-year period of 1945-50 bank profits after taxes rose more than 60 per cent.

Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank and one of the chief backers of Eisenhower, is of the opinion that "corrective recessions" are not to be feared. But in any recession, however limited, it is the small business man who is knocked out first, while big business, with its immense resources and credit, can usually "ride out" the slump and even profit from lower labor and other costs.

The small business man has a choice. He can back the Republican candidate and look forward to an end of all the measures in his behalf provided by the New and Fair Deal administrations. Or he can return the Democrats and expect relative stability and prosperity.

Are You a Member of a Minority Group?

If you are, and have suffered discrimination because of race, color, or creed—in education, housing, employment, the armed forces, or at the polls—you have little reason to hope for a change for the better if the Republicans win.

Since 1948 a legislative program has been pending in Congress to insure civil rights in all these fields. It has been held up by the filibustering tactics of the Dixiecrats in combination with the Republicans.

If Eisenhower wins, the chances of enacting that program in 1953 are practically non-existent.

The Democratic platform seeks an end to the filibuster and reiterates the party's demand for federal legislation to insure equal opportunity in employment, the end of segregation in the armed forces, and equal participation in the nation's political life.

The Republican platform is silent on the filibuster and on the issue of equal treatment in the armed forces. While it voices opposition to discrimination in employment, it would leave enforcement to the states, enacting federal legislation only as a supplement if necessary.

How real is the opposition of the Republican standard-bearers to federal action against discrimination may be gauged by two significant facts: (1) Nixon and Taft, as members of the Senate Labor Committee, in 1952 filed a minority report opposing the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices

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Commission. (2) Democratic Governors Shivers of Texas, Byrnes of South Carolina, and Kennon of Louisiana, chief protagonists of the white-supremacy theory, have repudiated Stevenson, announced their support of Eisenhower, and called upon their followers to do likewise—as an expression of their opposition to the civil-rights plank of the Democratic Party and the civil-rights views of the Democratic candidate.

Has Eisenhower rejected the backing of the Southern reactionaries? Quite the contrary. He has welcomed it and in large measure indorsed their views.

Are You a Naturalized American?

Or are you a newcomer to this country? Have you relatives in Eastern or Southern Europe or in Asia whom you would like to bring to the United States?

Then you have something to fear from an Eisenhower victory. Because it will mean that the McCarran-Walter Omnibus Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, described by Senator Herbert H. Lehman as "a bill specifically designed to create a second-class group of citizens by holding the fear of denaturalization over the heads of hundreds of thousands of naturalized citizens," will not be repealed.

Condemned as "un-Christian" and "un-American" as recently as October 2, 1952, by the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, this law (1) gives consuls and immigration officers unlimited authority to exclude aliens and deport naturalized citizens; (2) makes possible the exclusion of aliens on the basis of a guess as to what they might do in the future; (3) legalizes the denaturalization of any naturalized citizen who joins an organization on the Attorney General's list or refuses to testify before a Congressional committee investigating subversive activities; (4) threatens the foreign-born among us with possible deportation, with or without hearings, for acts committed decades back which may have been lawful when they occurred; (5) puts naturalized citizens abroad in jeopardy of loss of citizenship and exclusion from the United States without notice or hearings; (6) cuts quotas in half for Latvia, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania; (7) lays down a statutory discrimination against colonial peoples as well as all others whose family tree includes 50 per cent of "Asia-Pacific ancestors"; (8) surrenders American sovereignty by delegating to foreign governments the power to decide which of their citizens or former citizens the United States may admit; (9) provides for the deportation of political and religious refugees for a wide variety of reasons.

To be sure, the authors of the law are Democrats. But it was passed by the combined votes of Republicans and Dixiecrats. The fight against the McCarran bill was led by Democrats, together with one Republican, Senator Wayne Morse, who has withdrawn his support from Eisenhower. President Truman vetoed the bill, but his veto was overridden by fifty-seven to twenty-six in the Senate. Of the fifty-seven, thirty-two were Republicans and twenty-five Southern Democrats.

Senators Taft, Nixon, and McCarthy voted for the McCarran act, against amendments to it, and to override the President's veto.

The Public Interest and Natural Resources

A key test of the Republican pledge to improve the lot of the American people is the party's position on the natural resources of the country. Eisenhower's statements indicate that if he wins, the public interest will be sacrificed to that of the private power lobbies.

The offshore-oil resources in two areas alone, Texas and California, are worth forty billion dollars. The Supreme Court has ruled that the interest in these resources is vested in all the people of the United States. None the less, Eisenhower has advocated turning these enormous assets back to the states.

On a second basic question, how the country's power resources shall be developed, Eisenhower has chosen the side of the private utilities even though government development means cheap power, lower prices, more jobs, flood control, and much-needed conservation. "Anyone who thinks I am not sincerely interested in flood control and reclamation . . . is just simply talking through his hat," said the General on October 4. Maybe he *was* interested on that particular day. But on August 20 he was attacking the Federal Conservation and Development Program, and on October 6 and 7 he wanted the private interests drawn into these undertakings.

Power for the People

In 1951 federal hydroelectric power installations generated 45 billion kilowatt hours, 14 per cent of all the electric power sold in the country, an increase of 44½ billion since 1933. Federal power flowing through an 18,500-mile network of government transmission lines has powered atomic development, new industries, homes, and farms; assured flood control; reduced prices, and so expanded power consumption. Federal dams since 1933 have brought almost 2,500,000 new acres of land under irrigation, as compared to 706,000 new acres between 1920 and 1932.

Under the federal program a million families are the beneficiaries of conservation plans, with 18,000,000 acres of land restored through terracing, 2,000,000 acres safeguarded from erosion, 5,000,000 acres leveled for irrigation, and 900,000 acres made ready for tree planting. Fifty-two million acres of pasture and range have been restored since 1936; timberlands are being preserved; our mineral resources are being explored with a view to their conservation. The Bureau of Mines has discovered a method of making gasoline from coal on a commercial basis cheaply enough to compete with the natural product.

The Power Interests Seek Control

A constant battle, either against the expansion of these projects or for their control, is being waged by the power lobbies with the help of the Republicans in Congress. The private utilities are trying to prevent the construction of new dams unless the power is sold to them and to destroy the preference and protection given to rural cooperatives and public-power districts.

Electric power costs more in the Northeast than in any other section of the country. In New York the electricity consumer pays three times as much as his counterpart in the West.

Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont, a liberal Republican, stated in the Senate on February 9, 1948, that opponents of pending plans for federal construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway were seeking to hold up that development

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until the utilities could get control of Niagara power. "If they succeed in doing so," he said, "it will be the biggest steal of national resources ever put over on the people of this country." In June, 1952, Senator Aiken, referring to this prophecy, said: "It has come true to an alarming degree, for that is what they [the private utilities] are doing today."

The strength of Republican opposition to public power was demonstrated on June 18, 1952, when the Senate voted, by a majority of three, to recommit the Green resolution authorizing federal construction of this country's share of the St. Lawrence development project. A majority of the Republicans voted for recommittal.

If the Republicans win, Senator Harry P. Cain, Republican, of Washington, becomes chairman of the Public Works Committee. Senator Cain has the dubious distinction of being the power-lobby champion, the first Senator from his state in twenty years to vote against low-cost public-power projects.

Economy—at Whose Expense?

Eisenhower says that a major goal of a Republican Administration would be to reduce government spending and effect savings of twenty-one billion dollars within four years. An alluring prospect! But at whose expense?

Today 89 cents of every federal dollar budgeted by the federal government for the current year is spent for past, present, and potential wars—for direct military purposes, foreign military aid, interest on debt, veterans' appropriations, atomic energy, merchant marine, and other activities related to defense.

Only 3 per cent of federal funds is used for general administration; 3 per cent for aid to business; 2 per cent for farm programs, including research and conservation, as well as price supports; and 3 per cent for welfare.

Since Eisenhower and the Republican Party believe in economizing on all forms of federal assistance, the chances are that any cuts made would be in these appropriations. Such cuts would affect the welfare of a majority of Americans. One-third of American families have an annual income of less than $2,000. One-half have an annual income of less than $3,000. These families need public housing, public education, public health services, cheap public power, soil conservation, and farm assistance. They need lower prices and lower taxes.

What are they likely to get?

No Housing Relief

In 1949 the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency estimated conservatively that a minimum of 1,250,000 sound and acceptable housing units would be needed each year for at least ten years to meet existing shortages and raise housing standards.

In the 1920's, 41 per cent of the new residential units built were for rental purposes. From 1946 to 1950 this was true of only 17 per cent, forcing a greater dependence on home ownership. Private industry in this interval has built more than one million units. The cost per unit averaged $12,000, $17,500, and $25,000. But more than half of the families of America cannot afford to pay more than $7,500 for a house. They need public housing.

In 1948, 76 per cent of the Republican members of the Senate, led by Senator McCarthy, killed a measure for slum clearance for public housing. Similarly, a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition killed a Senate bill to give housing assistance to middle-income families.

In 1949 Congress passed a law authorizing the building of 135,000 public-housing units, as against a need for 1,250,000. In 1951 the Senate forced the House to agree to 50,000 units to be built in 1952.

Senator Nixon was part of the coalition which tried to cut the number from 50,000 to 5,000.

Public-Education Squeeze

Today 29,800,000 children attend public elementary and high schools. By 1960 their number is expected to increase to 37,000,000. For them 200,000 new classrooms are needed now, and 375,000 in the near future.

To meet current necessities, ten billion dollars should be applied to the construction of new buildings immediately. According to an April, 1952, report of the United States Office of Education, two out of five buildings in twenty-five states, containing 21 per cent of the pupils, are totally unfit for use. One-third of our school population attends classes in fire traps. Local administrations are unable to raise more than half of the funds called for.

To handle this situation the Administration proposed a $300,000,000 federal appropriation for educational necessities, to be dispensed by the states themselves. The bill was passed in the Senate over the opposition of the Republicans, led by McCarthy and including Taft. It was killed in the House by the G. O. P.

In 1951 the Senate Republican-Dixiecrat coalition succeeded in cutting $50,000,000 from a proposed $100,000,000 appropriation for defense-area schools.

The 1952 Republican platform states that school needs should be left entirely to local and state authorities.

Public-Health Neglect

Forty million Americans live in communities without adequate public-health facilities. The so-called volunteer health insurance covers only 10 per cent of the doctors' bills of America, 26 per cent of hospital bills, and 12 per cent of total medical expenses.

Yet when the Administration in 1951 sought a grant of $27,500,000 to create more local public-health units, 71 per cent of the Republicans in the Senate opposed the measure. The bill was passed in the Senate but was killed by the Republicans in the House.

The Administration's efforts to enact federal health insurance, which began in 1946 with the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, have been frustrated by the Republicans, headed by Senator Taft and spurred on by the American Medical Association.

The lack of doctors and trained nurses throughout the country is alarming. By 1954 the doctor shortage is expected to reach between 20,000 and 25,000. The current shortage of nurses is between 50,000 and 65,000. An expenditure of $370,000,000 more a year is required to enable existing medical schools to perform their present functions.

Ever since 1949 the Administration has tried to put through a five-year emergency program of assistance to medical, dental, and nursing schools. The A. M. A. has been the main opponent.

This program, initially indorsed by Senator Taft, was killed in the Senate with the concurrence of Taft and by a vote of 91 per cent of the Republican members; Nixon and McCarthy voted with the Republican majority.

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The Cost of Living

The high cost of living is the most urgent and difficult problem for most Americans.

During the war years and until 1946, under OPA controls, living costs rose only 6.6 per cent. From June, 1946, to May, 1952, the cost of living has gone up 41.6 per cent. Why?

Living costs rose largely as a result of the attack on price controls by the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition led by Senator Taft. In June and July, 1946, the OPA controls were killed by this coalition. By December, 1947, prices had jumped 34 points.

On February 18, 1947, the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in the House ended OPA, over Democratic opposition, by cutting off funds.

Has your rent gone up? Thank the Republicans. In May, 1947, 95 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted for a 15 per cent "voluntary" rent increase.

A special session of the Eightieth Congress, called by the President for the specific purpose of reinstituting price controls, was prevented by the Republicans from taking action, although living costs had risen 22 per cent and food prices 40 per cent.

In 1948 and 1949 the Republicans were able to block action on the Administration's request for stand-by rationing, price, wage, and commodity-speculation controls.

The National Association of Manufacturers led the fight to abolish controls, promising the public in full-page advertisements that the end of controls would increase production and lead to early "adjustment of prices."

When the Korean war broke out, the Defense Production Act was passed, giving the Administration limited powers of price control. But by 1952 the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition had forced through crippling amendments which virtually killed effective controls.

Even before the war-time controls were officially ended in 1947, the effectiveness of the OPA was destroyed by a Taft amendment permitting manufacturers to pass on to the consumer all increased costs, and by the Wherry amendments restricting controls on agricultural products. In 1951 similar amendments to the Defense Production Act were passed, sponsored by Senator Capehart, Republican, of Indiana, and Representative Herlong, Republican, of Florida.

Ceiling prices on meat were increased by one billion dollars as the result of the Butler (R., Nebraska) amendment prohibiting slaughtering quotas. Taft, Nixon, and McCarthy voted against meat-price control.

In 1952 the Republicans completed their contribution to the high cost of living by decontrolling fruit, vegetables, milk, and speculation in raw materials. The final ax was put to all federal rent controls.

Senator Capehart, should the Republicans win this election, is scheduled to become chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, which controls price legislation.

Who Will Benefit from Tax Cuts?

Eisenhower says a major goal of the Republican Party is lower taxes, possibly even 55 per cent lower. But who will benefit?

The Republican Eightieth Congress, despite three Presidential vetoes, passed a law lowering certain taxes. Under this law a man who earned $250,000 a year, married and with two children, benefited to the extent of 58.4 per cent; a man who earned $50,000 a year, 29.1 per cent. But a man whose income was less than $5,000 a year, saved only 3.5 per cent.

In 1950 and 1951 the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition succeeded in so raising individual income taxes that, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of November 28, 1951, "low-income individuals get the stiffest percentage in their federal income taxes." A single person with a net income of $800 in 1952 will pay *25 per cent more* than he paid in 1950. But a person with an income of a million dollars a year will pay less than he paid two years ago.

It is estimated that families making less than $1,000 per year today pay out in taxes, hidden and direct, approximately *23.6 per cent* of their incomes.

Corporations Protected by G. O. P.

The loopholes in the present tax laws favor oil companies, insurance companies, fictitious family partnerships and corporations, and high-bracket families. Corporations were saved $500,000,000 in taxes when Republican Senators voted nine to one to delay a tax increase from January 1, 1951, to April 1, 1951. In the oil industry, for example, 27½ per cent of the value of oil produced is exempt from federal taxes on the theory that production depletes the owner's assets. With tax loopholes plugged and adequate excess-profits taxes, ten billion dollars could be collected.

G. O. P. Tax Program Serves the Rich

The wage-earner and the low-income family will not benefit from the Republican tax program.

For years the National Association of Manufacturers, a principal spokesman for the Republican Party, has been urging a federal sales tax. This would affect most seriously the middle- and lower-income families.

Another Republican scheme is to place a constitutional limitation of 25 per cent on income taxes, whether personal or corporation taxes. Families making less than $20,000 a year would get no benefit under this plan. But the excess-profits tax on corporations would be wiped out and taxes on the very rich would go down as much as 70 per cent.

The Democratic platform promises to try to plug the tax loopholes. The Republican platform makes no reference to this. Nixon, Taft, and McCarthy led the fight against price and wage controls and against efforts to plug the tax loopholes. In the light of the record, what is Eisenhower's tax promise worth?

What Outlook for Peace with Ike?

Is peace possible? Who offers the best hope for peace—Eisenhower or Stevenson? Which party—the Republican or the Democratic? These are the questions every American is asking.

On the great issues of foreign policy what is Eisenhower offering his anxious countrymen?

On August 25, in the text of his address before the American Legion, he said: "Our government once and for all, with cold finality, must tell the Kremlin that we shall never recognize the slightest permanence in Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia. Never shall we rest content until the tidal mud of aggressive communism has receded within its own borders."

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Is this a declaration of peace? Hardly. And Eisenhower has since elaborated his views.

For the Far East he has put it plainly: "If there must be a war, let it be Asians against Asians, with our support on the side of freedom. . . . We do not want Asia to feel that the white man of the West is its enemy." As an immediate project his slogan is: Let's bring our boys home from Korea. While this is a popular, human, and understandable wish, as a policy it increases the risk of extending the war in Asia.

For Europe his proposal is "liberation," which, if actually attempted, would mean total war.

On the issue of war and peace Americans had the right to expect Eisenhower's own ideas, not those of Taft, McCarthy, Knowland, Dewey, Dulles, and the China lobby. But every pronouncement Ike has made on foreign policy is a rehash of the views of the reactionary Old Guard. The assumption must be that he shares them.

Could the General, as President, dependent on one hand on the Pentagon and on the other on a Republican Congress, provide a policy which would prevent war?

On the basis of his campaign and of the Republican record in Congress we do not believe he could.

The Korean War

Let's take a look at the Korean war. Whether or not that war could have been avoided, there is something basically dishonest in Eisenhower's repudiation of responsibility for the events which led up to it. Can he have forgotten that John Foster Dulles, his Republican platform writer, urged in the United Nations the original withdrawal of American troops from South Korea? Or that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, of which he was a member, decided that American troops should be pulled out? Or that General MacArthur gave the final O. K. for their withdrawal?

Has he forgotten that 60 per cent of the Republicans in Congress voted against a bill authorizing military assistance to Korea in 1949? Or that when the war broke out in Korea, Dulles sent a cable to the State Department from Tokyo saying, "To sit by while Korea is overrun by unprovoked armed attack would start a disastrous chain of events leading most probably to world war"? Or that Senator Taft told the Senate on June 28, 1950: "If a joint resolution were introduced asking for approval of the use of our armed forces already sent to Korea and full support of them in their present venture, I would vote in favor of it"? Has he forgotten that "his boy," Dick Nixon, was among the 86 per cent of House Republicans who in 1950 voted against economic aid to Korea, thereby killing it?

G. O. P. and China Lobby Prevented Truce

And is Eisenhower really ignorant of the reasons why our troops are still in Korea?

Two opportunities for honorable withdrawal from Korea followed the outbreak of the war. The first arose when we succeeded in pushing the North Koreans back across the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The United States and the U. N. had achieved their objective, the Chinese Communists were not involved in the war, and there was every chance to make an honorable peace. Why wasn't the war ended then? Walter Lippmann, one of Ike's backers, says the reason was the insistence of MacArthur, who strongly opposed it and was supported by the Republicans in Congress. The Administration took MacArthur's advice.

The second opportunity arose after the intervention of the Chinese Communists. In the winter of 1951 India was able to win acceptance by the Chinese Communists of the basic principle of the resolution adopted by the United Nations on January 13, 1951, which would have established a cease-fire and arranged for subsequent negotiation of all outstanding questions. This response was rejected by the U. N. under United States prodding. Instead, Communist China was formally branded an aggressor. The initiative for peace, then lost by the U. N., was never regained. Six months later the U. N. eagerly accepted similar terms in an atmosphere much less favorable, with the result that truce negotiations were launched which have now been dragging on for more than a year.

Why did all this happen? It happened because the Administration became the prisoner of the China lobby and its leaders—Taft, Nixon, Knowland, McCarthy, and MacArthur. These men wanted no action which would give even de facto recognition to the Chinese Communists around a conference table.

To prevent this, the Republican leadership then and now has been ready to risk extension of the war in Asia. From the very first General MacArthur, Senator Taft's keynoter at the Republican convention, has favored the use of Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Korea and an attack on Manchuria, even though this might mean converting the struggle into a war with Russia.

With a few honorable exceptions, the Republicans in Congress have supported MacArthur and the powerful China lobby.

Operations of the China Lobby

On November 23, 1950, Senator Knowland urged that the neutralization of Formosa be ended and aid given to Chiang to fight the Chinese Communists on the mainland. On April 5, 1951, the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, Joseph W. Martin, made public a letter from MacArthur indorsing the use of Chiang's troops to open a second front on the Chinese mainland. This was the letter which led to MacArthur's recall.

On February 12, 1952, Senator Taft expressed himself as favoring Chiang's invasion of the Chinese mainland, saying that he saw a 600,000-man army begging to be sent to do the job. As recently as June, 1952, Taft was saying that we could have won the war in Korea if we had followed the advice of our greatest soldier, General MacArthur.

Not only has Senator Nixon accepted the Taft–China lobby attitude, but a public-relations representative of the China lobby helped Nixon in his senatorial campaign.

Plan Chiang War with U. S. Backing

When Eisenhower calls for the withdrawal of our troops from Korea and a war by Asians against Asians, what does he mean? Would he actually leave the South Koreans to fight alone against the Chinese and the North Koreans? Would he expect them to win such a war? Is not the implication rather, given the Taft-McCarthy-Nixon-Knowland-MacArthur position, that we should be ready to finance Chiang to make war on Red China at an appropriate mo-

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ment? And if this is what Ike and his team have in mind, what would be the result? Could Chiang reconquer China? And could such a war fail to involve other parts of Asia—and Russia?

Let's look at the record of Chiang Kai-shek. The United States has never withdrawn its support of Chiang. Between 1945 and 1949, $1,600,000,000 was given to the Chinese Nationalists by the United States. Chiang lost the war against the Chinese Communists not because he lacked military support. He lost it because of the corruption and inefficiency of his rule and his refusal to introduce necessary reforms.

What reason is there to believe that the same Chiang, even if armed to the teeth with American weapons, could win the vast millions of hungry Chinese to his side, as Eisenhower and Taft apparently assume? As for the concept that such a war could be limited, who except the most cynical would take that risk in the context of present world events? How, then, is the Taft-Eisenhower-China-lobby policy a formula for peace?

Do you buy it? We do not!

The "Liberation" Policy

For the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe, Eisenhower has another formula called "liberation," taken over from John Foster Dulles, scheduled to be Secretary of State if Ike wins.

In his speech before the American Legion in New York, Eisenhower announced that the slave states of Eastern Europe must be liberated. On September 23 he said: "We shall help each captive nation to maintain an outward strain against its Moscow bond."

How Dulles and Eisenhower propose to liberate the peoples of the "slave states" of Eastern Europe by peaceful means neither has said. Dulles proposes to give these peoples "moral" backing in their resistance to Soviet domination. But when even so innocuous an instrument of moral encouragement as the Voice of America came up for support in Congress, 70 per cent of House Republicans in August, 1951, voted to reduce its appropriation by $15,000,000. And as recently as October 8 Ike himself was sneering at the Voice of America.

But such an "innocuous" operation is not what other Republicans have in mind. Representative Charles J. Kersten (R.) of Wisconsin successfully sponsored in the last Congress an amendment to the Mutual Security Act providing a $100,000,000 fund to help finance resistance in the satellite countries. And in a statement issued from General Eisenhower's headquarters, Kersten denounced the policy of containment and declared that "it would be immoral and un-Christian" to negotiate a state of "peaceful coexistence" with Russia.

Dulles, after first talking about air drops of machine-guns and other supplies, then about passive resistance and industrial sabotage in Eastern Europe, on September 3 came to the conclusion that "aggressive despots must be slowed down and stopped from within or we shall have to check them from without in the head-on collision of atomic war."

What does this mean except ultimate war? Has Eisenhower repudiated Kersten and Dulles? He has not.

Republicans Oppose Defense Perimeter

Though the foreign policy of the present Administration is subject to criticism at many points, it has none the less produced for the United States both allies and a "defense perimeter," certainly in Europe. That defense perimeter has been built by the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, the organization and support of the United Nations, and assistance to underdeveloped areas. Much more could have been done, must be done, particularly in the way of Point Four aid. But at least among the Democratic leadership there is a growing realization that the best weapon against communism is the knowledge of what constitutes its appeal, that there is need for alliances with peoples and not just with military machines.

The majority of Republican members of Congress have opposed all these undertakings. Senator Taft opposed American participation in the United Nations, which still remains the one international instrument for achieving world peace. Senator Jenner offered an amendment to the Japanese peace treaty which stated that "in consenting to ratification of the treaty the Senate does not give political sanction or prestige to the principles of the U. N. Charter or the Declaration of Human Rights."

In October, 1951, 72 per cent of the Republicans in the House voted to put an arbitrary limitation on United States contributions to the U. N., which now costs the American taxpayer about 77 cents a year.

Senator Taft opposed the Marshall Plan. Senators Taft, Nixon, and McCarthy voted against American troops for NATO. All three Eisenhower stalwarts voted to cut the appropriations for the Mutual Security Act. All three opposed the assistance to underdeveloped areas which was part of the campaign of the United States to destroy the poverty which breeds communism. In 1950, 85 per cent of the Senate Republicans tried to stall Point Four by appointing a study commission; 80 per cent of the House Republicans voted to kill it by a motion to recommit. In the same year 76 per cent of the Senate Republicans voted against the bill.

The North Atlantic Treaty is not even mentioned in the Republican platform although the Republican candidate was its director. Taft voted against the treaty. In May, 1952, 73 per cent of Senate Republicans in the last Congress, over Eisenhower's protest, voted to cut a billion dollars from the appropriation for the revival of the defense industries of Western Europe.

Adlai's Credo—and Ike's

Governor Adlai Stevenson offers a policy of joining with other nations "in building military, economic, and political strength, which can gradually but surely lessen the relative power of the Soviet Union on world events." He urges strengthening the United Nations, increasing Point Four aid, renewing and extending reciprocal trade agreements. He has stated his credo on war and peace in these words: *"Not in the ashes of another world war but only in the atmosphere of a peaceful world can the reffirmation of the right of self-determination have any meaning. I will never fear to negotiate in good faith with the Soviet Union, for to close the door to the conference room is to open the door to war."*

Contrast this with Eisenhower's proposed policy of paying foreign armies to fight wars for "freedom" and with the isolationist, jingoist record of the Republicans in Congress—the "team" Ike wants elected with him.

This is the Republican leadership on whom war or peace depends. Would you intrust your safety to them?

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The Inconsistency of John Foster Dulles

BY FRANK GOTHAM

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, still as wide open to an offer to become Secretary of State as he was when he expected Dewey to be elected President in 1948, is a man of inconsistencies. He has professed an almost religious devotion to bipartisanship in foreign policy. He has attempted with some success to persuade both Republican and Democratic leaders that he is the essential link between the two parties in world affairs. Yet in the present political campaign he is using all his skill to find divisive foreign-policy issues.

While in private, almost clandestinely, he frequently tends toward moderation in his Russian policy, in his public utterances he often seems deliberately to be justifying Vishinsky's familiar epithet of "warmonger." It was he who put into Eisenhower's mouth the celebrated demand for ending the Truman-Acheson containment policy and launching a policy aimed at "liberation" of the lands and peoples within the Soviet orbit. This catchword was as misleading as it was reckless. It assumed that the Administration's policy halts at containment, though Acheson's thesis is simply that Russia's expansion must be stopped before its power can be rolled back. The Administration, as distinct from George Kennan several years ago, has never defined its policy as mere containment of Russia.

"Liberation" as currently used is an irresponsible slogan because it suggests war or futility. Both Eisenhower and Dulles were constrained hurriedly to repudiate the charge that they contemplated liberation by force of arms. As usual, the denial failed to repair the damage. The word was harnessed to catching the votes of Americans of Polish and other foreign origin whose homelands are now under Communist rule. Actually, Dulles's brain wave had three other effects: (1) it caused members of those same minority groups to wonder whether their countrymen were being incited to insurrection without assurance of Allied military support; (2) it led many thoughtful Americans to ponder whether the Republicans would lead them into adventures that could easily precipitate world war; (3) it deeply alarmed our British, French, and other allies, who believe a "liberation" policy would bring ruin to their own countries. If "liberation" does not mean war, many asked, how is it to be attained? One explanation was provided in a Dulles-written passage in the Republican platform:

> It will be made clear, on the highest authority of the President and the Congress, that United States policy, as one of its peaceful purposes, looks happily forward to the genuine independence of those captive peoples.
>
> We shall again make liberty into a beacon light of hope that will penetrate the dark places. That program will give the Voice of America a real function.

So it is not atomic bombs and armies that are to do the job after all. In the last war we heard that Hitler could capture Madrid and Lisbon by telephone. Now Dulles has modernized this concept: we are to "liberate" the nations under Soviet dominance by beaming the Voice of America to their people.

But actually Dulles went well beyond the platform statement in his effort to define what he and his candidate intended. He said that in addition to "moral encouragement," resistance forces in the satellite countries could be supplied by air with weapons and implements of sabotage.

When Dulles saw the mischief caused, he declared it was only after Mr. Truman had sharpened this issue that the "liberation" challenge evoked hostile reaction. Yet such pro-American papers as the Manchester *Guardian* and the Paris *Figaro* had responded immediately with deep uneasiness when Eisenhower put the new doctrine before the Legion convention in New York. It was some days after our allies reacted so unfavorably that President Truman commented on the proposal.

There were earlier instances of Dulles taking publicly the stiffest and most provocative anti-Soviet line. By contrast, in less conspicuous circumstances, he has favored methods of dealing with Russia that, if sponsored openly, could have put him near the top of Joe McCarthy's black list. For example: (1) In March, 1947, at the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow, Secretary of State Marshall rejected Russia's demand for German reparations from current production; at the London meeting of the Foreign Ministers eight months later, Dulles urged Marshall to bargain with Vishinsky on the basis of just such German reparations payments. (2) At that same London conference Dulles also came forward, inside the American delegation, with a suggestion for international control of the Ruhr; and Russia, according to Dulles's plan, was to be one of the four powers administering the region. (3) On the eve of the 1948 elections Dulles—then regarded as about to become Secretary of State—had thought out a way of attempting to negotiate a general settlement with Russia. It was to be a give-and-take business. One of the concessions he was ready to

FRANK GOTHAM is one of the most experienced of American foreign correspondents. This is the second of two articles on John Foster Dulles. The first appeared last week.

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grant was that the United States should write off all Korea; he thought Korea strategically indefensible anyway. This contrast between Dulles-in-private and Dulles-in-public is a recurrent phenomenon. Freed of political motivation, his inclination is to be temperate toward Russia—not an appeaser of course, but a negotiator. As soon as he seeks office, his demagogy is boundless.

His opportunism was apparent before Eisenhower's nomination. Early last spring Dulles equivocated about his allegiance. Would he back Taft or Eisenhower? He had not decided. He felt some distrust of Eisenhower as President. This rested partly on his own experience under George Marshall, whom he found too rigid, too prone to glance toward the Pentagon when making a policy decision. Dulles feared that Eisenhower, another professional soldier, would be at least as mindful of the Pentagon in shaping the pattern of civilian diplomacy. For a short period Dulles seemed to lean toward Taft. In May he made several speeches attacking the Administration's foreign policy. Though stopping short of following Taft in detail, his views pleased Taft, who remarked, "I certainly would have no difficulty in agreeing with the general philosophy expressed in Dulles's speeches since he left the government."

So Dulles accomplished his 180° swing. From Taft he had the approval of the isolationist-economy wing of the G. O. P. He also received the indorsement of Eisenhower, who said, "I will go along with Mr. Dulles's presentation of his case." Thus Dulles trained himself for the acrobatic assignment of writing a foreign-policy plank acceptable to both Ike and Bob. At stake was his own chance of becoming Secretary of State.

Before the Republican convention opened, however, Dulles came to the conclusion that Eisenhower would defeat Taft for the nomination. He correctly reasoned that some crucial states, especially New York, California, and Minnesota, after voting for their favorite sons in the first ballot, would switch to Eisenhower. In May he went to Paris and won from Eisenhower an assurance that, if elected, he would put greater emphasis on Far Eastern policy than the Truman Administration had done. This was enough to justify him in supporting Eisenhower. The growing probability that Ike would be the Republicans' choice made the decision easier.

Dulles had resigned from the Truman-Acheson team, he announced, to be free to become one of its most active critics. Does his quick turn-around disqualify him from again filling a responsible post in a Democratic government? Dulles does not think so. He has played his cards cautiously. His attacks on the Administration he so recently served have been vehement, but he has abstained from personal denunciation of any member of the Truman team. He has shunned use of the confidential information that came to his State Department desk, though some of it might have been effective ammunition against his former associates. He has revived his contention that a future Democratic regime which denied him an influential post would be thwarting the bipartisanship in foreign affairs of which he regards himself as the living Buddha. In all this Dulles may have miscalculated badly. He seems unaware that Democratic leaders bitterly resent his betrayal of the Administration in which he so recently participated. If Adlai Stevenson should win, Dulles could probably devote more time to his country home in Ontario.

KOREA offers an excellent illustration of what one may term Dulles's schizophrenia, since duplicity is an ugly word. The Republican foreign-policy plank, of which he was the principal author, condemns the Truman Administration's withdrawal of American troops from South Korea in these words:

> In South Korea they [the present Administration] withdrew our occupation troops in the face of the aggressive, poised-for-action Communist military strength on its northern border. . . . With foresight the Korean war would never have happened.

Here Dulles appears to have gambled on the American people's short memory. It was General Eisenhower, chief of staff of the army in 1947, who sponsored the Joint Chiefs' advice that the United States had little strategic interest in keeping troops in Korea and that in the current man-power shortage it could well employ those soldiers elsewhere.

Again, when the United States, in December, 1948, moved in the U. N. General Assembly that all foreign occupation troops be withdrawn from Korea, it was Dulles who pressed the resolution. In a letter to Senator Paul Douglas, Dulles pleaded later that he was acting on President Truman's instructions. This suggests that he was acting against his own best judgment. It leaves us to guess why he spoke out only after four years.

In condemning the Administration's Korean policy, Dulles's neglect to mention certain facts can hardly have been due to ignorance. Five months before the North Koreans attacked in 1950, a bill to give economic aid to Korea was defeated in the House by one vote, 192 to 191. Eighty-seven per cent of the House Republicans voted against the bill. The Communist radio in North Korea seized upon this as a sign that the United States would not stand by Korea. Dulles has said nothing of this performance by his fellow-Republicans. Less than a week before the Communist aggression, Dulles stood before the Korean National Assembly in Seoul and as a representative of the United States gave assurance of its concern for Korea. "You are not alone," he told the Assembly. The Korean affair is only one of the more obvious instances of Dulles's strange reading of history as Election Day nears.

His foreign-policy plank declares, "Those in control

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of the party in power have in reality no foreign policy." On the one hand, he tries to dissociate himself from the policies he actively helped to form. On the other, he repeatedly claims credit for shaping those policies.

After Dulles's performance in the 1949 New York senatorial contest President Truman was disinclined to offer him another post in the government. It was because Acheson wanted to enlist Dulles in the cause of bipartisanship that Mr. Truman finally invited him into the State Department. His friends in the department were surprised when they read the Republican platform to find that Dulles had made the Administration guilty of "abandoning" Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Dulles knows that the United States has never recognized Soviet annexation of the Baltic lands, and he could not have put this accusation into the platform without a blush.

German Social Democrats

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Bonn

THE Social Democrats are frankly worried. How often I heard it said at the Dortmund congress: "Those Adenauer fellows have dug in deep, and it will be hard to dislodge them. They want their little Germany and little Europe; the unification of Germany would be a terrible embarrassment to them. If Germany were reunited, it would inevitably have a Protestant and Socialist majority, and we should have to share what we have with the impoverished eastern zone. Adenauer could no longer boast of the 'roaring success' of his Federal Republic."

While they too are proud of West German success, the Social Democrats are seriously concerned about the growing domination of *Grosskapital*. On the surface the country is not undemocratic, but the pressure of big business is felt in every field, and not least by the press and other propaganda agencies. Dr. Fritz Heine spoke eloquently at the congress of the millions being poured into the communications media by the big industrialists with an eye on next summer's elections.

Revolutionary action, or even strike action, except in extreme cases, is alien to the German character. The Social Democratic Party is always careful to point out that it has no control over the vast, all-embracing trade-union federation with its six million members. On the whole the party is against any kind of direct action, as Ollenhauer, Schumacher's successor as leader, made very clear. There is, in fact, fairly good teamwork between capital and labor throughout German industry, the employers handling their "paternalism" with skill and tact and the workers in general bearing them no grudge. I asked a leading Social Democrat what he thought of the famous *Mitbestimmungsrecht* (codetermination) granted labor in the heavy industries. He thought that its worth depended entirely on the qualities of the workers' spokesmen, who too often either regarded their directorial functions as a cushy job or were awestruck before the gentlemen of the employer class who sat across the table. For the workers to obtain the best possible terms their representatives, he said, should be men with no inferiority complex of this kind—they ought really to have university degrees.

Social Democrats, I discovered, have little patience with the "sloppy internationalism" of Strasbourg. One prominent party member spoke derisively of the "Schuman Klub," calling it a "weapon of French imperialism, designed to keep Germany down."

One curious thing I noted about the Social Democrats was their attitude toward the eight or nine million refugees from the east, who only a few years ago seemed such an insoluble problem. Now that West Germany has something of an artificially stimulated boom economy, based largely on intensive reconstruction and on the development of Allied airfields and other military installations, they no longer express any serious objections to the refugees' presence—it might, in fact, be embarrassing if the refugees all went home. For if there are still about a million unemployed in West Germany, the bulk of the immigrants from the east have been absorbed into industry and agriculture, have indeed become an asset rather than a liability.

There is no doubt that in the next election the Social Democrats are hoping to gain perhaps decisive support from the refugees, most of whom are now adherents of the Alliance of the Outlawed and Disinherited, a loosely knit party with understandably chauvinist and *revanchard* tendencies. By pressing for "German Unity First" and for full and rational employment of the refugees the Social Democrats have been more or less successfully diverting them from neo-fascism, which, contrary to the widespread belief abroad, is not yet a major threat.

The West German Social Democratic Party, unlike the British Labor Party, claims to be monolithic in its demand for "German Unity First" and its opposition to Little Europe. Yet when you ask leading party members what exactly they mean and what they intend to do if no agreement on German unity is reached with Russia —they would attribute the failure at least as much to France as to Russia—they admit that they will work with the West if accepted as equal partners: and to the devil with the "emergency situations" provided for the Allies' benefit in the Contractual Agreements. In the last analysis this simply shows that, for all their internationalism, the German Social Democrats are opposed to any surrender of sovereignty and to any outside controls, most of all those of supra-national authorities.

ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *Paris correspondent, went to Germany to report on the Social Democratic congress at Dortmund.*

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Racism in the Nation's Capital

BY PHINEAS INDRITZ

Washington

ONE of the great drags on our country's efforts in the cold war between democracy and totalitarianism is the racism which pervades the national capital. Every incident of racial discrimination is avidly seized upon for propaganda by our enemies; neither we nor our friends can make adequate explanation.

Washington is a "border" town between Virginia and Maryland. According to the 1950 census, its population of 802,178 is 64.55 per cent white and 35.44 per cent non-white. Its preponderantly white suburbs bring the metropolitan-region population to 1,464,089, which is 76.64 per cent white and 23.35 per cent non-white. Five years ago the President's Committee on Civil Rights condemned racial discrimination in the city as "a graphic illustration of a failure of democracy." A year later (December 10, 1948), the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital issued a detailed report which summed up the city's racist patterns as a "blot on our nation."

These exposures received widespread publicity and catalyzed the whole civil-rights front. The year 1949 saw considerable inroads on the status quo of racism: School buildings segregated during the day were made available for after-hours use by integrated groups. Racial designations were removed from the recreation planning maps of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission; its chairman who had defended those designations was not reappointed when his term expired, and a Negro architect was named a member of the commission. The District of Columbia Recreation Board hastily promised to move toward the elimination of segregation in its public recreation facilities. The official festivities of the President's inauguration were on a wholly integrated basis.

In 1949 also the doors of several places of public accommodation which had previously excluded colored people were quietly opened to them. The establishment of the non-segregated clubhouse of the American Veterans Committee further facilitated integrated civic and social events for many groups. The Department of the Interior held fast to its non-segregation policy when that policy was protested in its application to swimming pools. The white parochial schools, after several years of efforts by Catholic interracial groups, began to admit colored students. Racial bars were abandoned in the restaurants of the Washington National Airport and of the National Zoological Park. And the Department of Justice for the first time vigorously and directly challenged the myth of "separate but equal" in historic briefs before the Supreme Court in three major cases.

Additional gains have since been made. All the major universities and colleges in the District except George Washington University now admit Negroes to professional and graduate courses and to many of the undergraduate courses. Negro enrolment in the formerly white parochial schools has substantially increased, and a number of hotels, restaurants, and places of public assembly have ceased to exclude colored people. Racial discrimination in federal employment has become considerably less overt. In public recreation and sports substantial interracial contact now takes place in an atmosphere of mutual good-will. Although its existing public-housing facilities remain segregated, the National Capital Housing Authority recently announced that its new housing projects would be non-segregated; and significant shifts in racial residential patterns are beginning to develop since the restrictive housing covenants were declared unenforceable. The whole situation, with respect both to focusing the public eye on the evil at home and to promoting more relaxed inter-racial contacts, has considerably improved.

But in many areas progress has been slow or almost entirely absent. In the public schools segregation remains the prime arbiter of education. Medical facilities for sick Negroes are generally deplorable. Only Freedmen's Hospital, which historically has largely served colored people, admits Negroes without segregation; several hospitals do not admit Negroes at all; other hospitals which admit Negro patients in segregated facilities do not permit Negro doctors to attend them. Hopes for local political suffrage, of white as well as colored people, through the enactment of a home-rule bill again foundered in the District Committee of the House largely because the possibility of Negroes voting in the District was too repulsive to those whose presence in Congress depends in part on disfranchisement of Negroes back home.

The pattern of housing for most Negroes is still that of slums and the ghetto. And despite the relatively minor gains in federal employment, the over-all picture of employment of Negroes remains one of rank discrimination and woeful lack of opportunity. Thus no Negro gets a job operating street cars or buses, or as a switchboard

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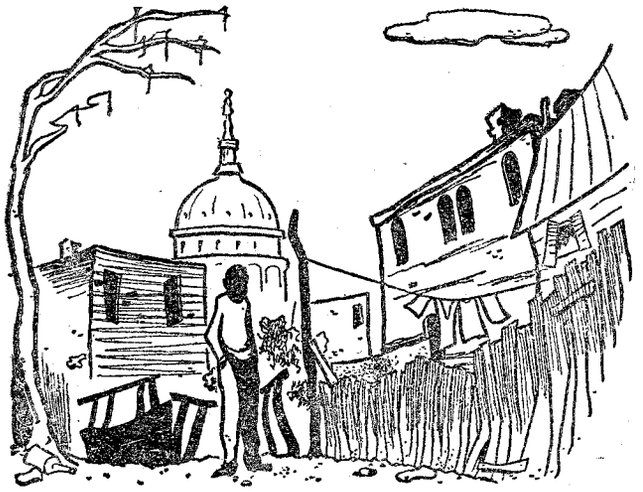

Alvin Katz

operator for the telephone company, or as a sales clerk in most department stores, or, for that matter, in most of the non-Negro companies or stores except as a messenger, elevator operator, kitchen help, unskilled labor, or similar low-paid worker. Even in the District government, employment opportunities for Negroes are mired in segregation and discrimination.

A vigorous double-pronged attack is now under way on one of the most shameful aspects of racial discrimination in Washington—that is, the exclusion of Negroes from public eating places. In the summer of 1950 a suit known as the Thompson Restaurant case was instituted to obtain judicial support for two long unused civil-rights statutes enacted some eighty years ago by the now extinct Legislative Assembly of the District of Columbia but somehow omitted from the District Codes of 1901, 1929, and 1940. Under these statutes the keeper or proprietor of certain places of public accommodation who refuses to serve "any respectable well-behaved person" without regard to race is subject to a $100 fine and forfeiture of license for one year.

In May, 1951, the Municipal Court of Appeals by a two-to-one vote upheld the 1873 law, applicable to restaurants, but declared invalid, "at least so far as restaurants are concerned," the 1872 law, which applied to restaurants, hotels, barbershops, and bath-houses. Cross-appeals took the case to the United States Court of Appeals. The widespread public interest in the case was reflected not only in the several *amicus curiae* briefs but also by the virtually unprecedented action of the court in setting the case for argument, on its own initiative, before the full bench of nine judges. The decision has not yet been handed down.

The Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the District of Columbia Anti-Discrimination Laws, which sponsored the tests at the Thompson restaurant, has not relied solely on the creeping process of litigation. It has made and published surveys of discrimination in local eating places and by the skilful use of publicity, persuasion, picketing, and boycott has induced many of them, particularly those frequented by low- and middle-income persons, to abandon their discriminatory practices. A few weeks ago the last large dime store in the downtown area finally abandoned segregation at its lunch counter.

This combination of legal and community action has heightened public awareness of the old civil-rights acts and has strengthened the determination of the colored people to insist on their rights under the law. If the acts are eventually upheld, it seems safe to say that despite probable efforts at evasion in some establishments and the resulting problems of proof and conviction, racial exclusionary practices in the District's public eating places will largely disappear.

THE stronghold of Washington's segregation is the public-school system. Although the Congressional statutes under which it operates clearly contemplate a dual set of schools, some for white children and some for colored children, it is by no means certain that the Board of Education could not integrate some schools, or combine the white teachers' college and the colored teachers' college (as the president of the white teachers' college has already urged), or that the board is required to forbid interracial athletics or interracial extra-curricular activities such as chess, music, debating, or other intercultural contacts. Nevertheless, the Board of Education has made segregation so rigid that a white child can go through seventeen years of public education without ever seeing a colored child in classrooms or in inter-mural or extra-curricular activities.

Moreover, the separate schools are not equal. No matter how desperately the Board of Education shifts the racial use of school buildings to try to keep abreast of population changes, it can only mildly alleviate the almost scandalous inequalities inevitable under a dual system. And because these shifts create almost as many inequities, for both white and colored children, as they attempt to correct, every proposed change is debated in an atmosphere of controversy, resistance, and emotional tension.

Since de-segregation of schools by Congressional action appears remote while the filibuster is available in the Senate, those looking beyond such temporary palliatives as shifting racial use of buildings, additional funds for more colored teachers, and the like are placing their hope on court action. Two cases are now pending before the United States Court of Appeals to require admission of colored pupils to a white junior high school.

Court action less ultimate in its goal is nibbling at some of the obvious racial discrimination in public education. On July 3, 1952, a District Court judge held unconstitutional the Washington practice, followed since at least 1905, of exporting colored deaf children to

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schools in Maryland and Pennsylvania while educating white deaf children in the District at the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, an outstanding school. Acceding to this decree, the District government has contracted with the Columbia Institution to educate colored deaf children, but has inserted a provision requiring the Institution, which does not segregate non-District students, to segregate the District colored children.

That non-segregation in Washington can work is demonstrated by the picture in public recreation. The Interior Department's Office of National Capital Parks administers the park system with no racial restrictions of any sort in its six swimming pools, tourist-camp lodgings, tennis courts, golf courses, picnic areas, or other facilities. Its policy is simply that as a government agency it is obligated to administer its public facilities for the benefit of all law-abiding persons who choose to use them. Except for one minor incident in 1949, that policy has been uniformly successful.

However, public recreation is only partially democratic. The Recreation Board, an agency of the District government, sponsors a racial anomaly: facilities in park areas administered under permit from the Interior Department are non-segregated; other areas are designated for white use only (among them are the District government's two outdoor swimming pools), or for colored use only, or "open" areas—which in practice means a new form of segregation, since white and colored teams from such "open" areas may not play with teams from areas designated for either white or colored use. The Recreation Board's racial policy, unlike segregation in education, does not rest on any alleged statutory compulsion but only on the board's say so; like all forms of segregation it has exacerbated racial tensions and lowered the quality of service to all. Its contrast with the Department of Interior's policy is startling.

Washington in 1952 is still a Jim Crow town. Its discriminatory practices are indeed a "blot on our nation." Yet two of the most significant facts concerning race relations in the District are the ever more rapid progress in breaking down racial barriers and the community's acceptance of this progress. Although many and substantial barriers still exist, racial discrimination and the attitudes which underlie it have been receding or put on the defensive to a degree unforeseen fifteen years ago. And as the walls crumble, both white and colored people, Southern-bred as well as Northern-bred, are with considerable mutual understanding clearing their minds of the myths of racism and the cobwebs of segregation. It is such reorientation of community *mores* within the tradition of peaceful, democratic change that buoys the hope for removal of the race line from our nation's capital.

California: Crossed up on Cross-filing

BY ERNEST O. AMES

San Francisco

IN 1913 the California legislature quietly slipped a few words into the state's direct-primary act—an amendment giving a person the right to become the candidate "of more than one political party for the same office." The Progressive Party, which controlled the legislature, had a selfish motive in authorizing this anomaly, which became known as "cross-filing." Motive and party soon ceased to exist, but the political confusion and irresponsibility generated by the device have continued. The result has been to make a farce of the state's direct-primary elections and of the two-party system.

Cross-filing is attacked by Democrats and Republicans, by the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., by the press, the League of Women Voters, and the National Municipal League. It has been defended by a large percentage of California's elected office-holders, including Governor Earl Warren, by special-interest groups, lobbyists, and some chambers of commerce. This fall, after thirty-nine years, the public will get a chance to vote for its rejection or retention when an initiative to repeal cross-filing appears on the ballot.

To understand why the cross-filing amendment was ever adopted we must go back to the great economic upsurge that the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 produced in California. Powerful private interests arose which were determined to mold the changing West into the shape they desired. Of these the one which could best exploit the situation was that which had brought it about—the railroad. For some forty years the "Southern Pacific machine" dominated the Republican Party and had substantial influence in the Democratic Party. Southern Pacific candidates on both tickets were not unusual. The railroad's ability to elect office-holders who would do its bidding was enhanced by the lack of a direct-primary system. Machine candidates, selected at party nominating conventions, were beholden to the railroad and acted accordingly.

After repeated attempts, a reform movement finally came to fruition with the passage of a direct-primary act

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In 1909; a year later it swept Hiram Johnson into the governorship at the head of the crusading Progressive Party. The Johnson administration broke the Southern Pacific's strangle-hold on California politics, but the Progressive Party, even in its heyday, rested on shaky foundations. Its adherents were dissatisfied Republicans and Democrats, mainly the former. The Progressives not only had to hold them in line but continue to draw supporters from the two main parties. Shrewd Progressive leaders figured that a sure way to elect their candidates would be to have them run on more than one ticket. So the words to make this practice legal were inserted in the primary law.

In 1917 the electorate passed another amendment to the act which stipulated that a candidate who failed to win the nomination of his own party at the primaries could not be nominated by another party. This "amendment to the amendment," though well intentioned, served only to increase the possibility of political confusion. In 1918 James Rolph, Jr., long the mayor of San Francisco, became the first candidate for governor to cross-file on both major parties' tickets. Rolph, a Republican, won the Democratic nomination but lost in his own party's primaries to William D. Stephens. Under the 1917 amendment the Democrats were thus left without a candidate for governor. Stephens went on to a "no contest" victory at the general election.

The legislature tried to take remedial action but failed to get at the source of the trouble. Instead, it provided that in the event of future disqualifications the central committee of the party left without a candidate could appoint one. Cross-filing was retained without change.

BILLS to end cross-filing have repeatedly been introduced in the legislature, only to die in committee. The legislators do not want to repeal cross-filing, since it works to the advantage of incumbents seeking reelection. The record shows that an overwhelming percentage of state senators and assemblymen win renomination on both the Republican and Democratic tickets at the primaries and thus save themselves the trouble and expense of conducting a campaign. This means, first, that the people are denied the opportunity of hearing the issues clarified in the campaign arguments; and, second, that the relatively small number of voters who take part in the primaries choose the state's officials.

In view of the stake which members of the legislature have in retaining cross-filing, it is difficult to see how the situation could be changed by any action short of a direct vote of the people, such as will occur this year. Unfortunately the legislature has confused the issue by placing a second initiative pertaining to cross-filing on the November ballot. This makes a merely minor concession to the critics of the system by proposing that a candidate's party affiliation shall be indicated on the ballot.

The law establishing the direct-primary system in California was of course designed to give voters the power to select candidates for public office—so that they would not be left with a choice between a "machine Republican" and a "machine Democrat." The question now is whether cross-filing is a refinement or an emasculation of the direct primary. The weight of evidence indicates it is the latter. In approximately 90 per cent of the primary contests incumbents are seeking reelection. Most of the time they have little or no opposition from members of their own party. In self-defense, the opposing party's leaders try to put up only one man for each office: when two or more candidates vie for the nomination the cross-filing incumbent has a much better chance of winning.

The argument most often heard in favor of cross-filing is that it promotes non-partisan government and that non-partisan government is good government. This claim is easily refuted. Whatever merit non-partisan government may have in theory, it is an ideal that is never realized. As long as there is government, there will be public issues; public issues create pro and con public opinion; elected officials must conform to public opinion—that is, be either pro or con, and hence partisan. To see that cross-filing does not produce non-partisan government one need only look at the record of Governor Warren. Warren has always been a Republican. He has participated, often prominently, in both state and national activities of the Republican Party. In 1948 he was its Vice-Presidential candidate. This year he sought the Republican Presidential nomination. How, then, for all his cross-filing, can he appear before his constituents as non-partisan?

The argument that cross-filing eliminates party bosses is only superficially valid. The fact is that the party bosses have been replaced by bosses of an even worse breed—the "third house" of lobbyists and special interests.

The traditional American conception of a political party is an organization of electors who believe in certain principles of government and work for the execution of those principles through the election of the party's candidates. With candidates running on the tickets of both parties it is obviously difficult to maintain virile party organizations or to build up the political responsibility of office-holders. No wonder that in this situation California's pressure groups have been able to control the state's legislative processes.

California has neither responsible parties nor responsible candidates. Instead, it has the huge, lushly financed "third house" of lobbyists who are responsible only to their clients and who outnumber the one hundred members of the legislature at least four to one. With the

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breakdown of effective party organization, candidates for office are the prey of the special interests which provide their financial backing and which after the election not infrequently turn up as lobbyists in the capitol. In these circumstances legislators find it hard to put the public interest first, especially if they want to be reelected. Public opinion cannot reach into the "third house" as long as cross-filing remains on the books. The names of the members of that powerful body never appear on any ballot.

Colonialism in the U. N.

BY CHADWICK HALL

United Nations

A FULL-DRESS debate on colonialism is brewing at the United Nations. Last June a proposal to call a special session of the Assembly to consider the Tunisian question was defeated in the Security Council, but the Arab-Asian bloc is still trying to round up enough votes to put Tunisia on the agenda of the current session of the Assembly. And if a debate on colonial policy comes off, Tunisia will not be the only topic. The smaller and non-white nations in the U. N. feel strongly that the Trusteeship Council, which arbitrates complaints submitted by non-self-governing territories, is heavily biased in favor of the colonial powers. As an example of this bias they point to a decision handed down in July dealing with the protest of the Wa-Meru tribe in Tanganyika against expropriation of its lands by the British administrators of the territory. Instead of ordering Britain to return the land, the council merely urged that "compensation" be paid, a solution which the tribe had previously rejected.

For thirty years Tanganyika, largest of the eleven non-self-governing territories, has been under international supervision. Taken from the Germans in World War I, it was turned over to Great Britain by the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Britain's authority was reaffirmed by the U. N. When Tanganyika was still a German colony the whites in the territory had seized the most productive land and driven the natives into the disease-infested lowlands. Between the wars few Englishmen migrated to the territory out of fear that it might be returned to Germany, and in 1923 the British permitted one of the tribes, the Wa-Meru, which was facing starvation, to buy back its land. But in 1949, when English colonizers began to arrive in large numbers, the 350 native families that had gone back to the highlands were ordered to get out. They refused, and in November, 1951, were ejected by an armed band of native police aided by whites from nearby Kenya. According to the testimony of Kirile Japhet, one of the tribe's spokesmen before the Trusteeship Council, 3,000 natives were driven from their homes and 64 died as a result, 11,000 cows, sheep, and goats perished, 854 storehouses were gutted, and an entire village was burned to the ground. After trying in vain to get the Colonial office to listen to their protests, the tribe appealed to the U. N. Trusteeship Council.

The British spokesman, Sir Alan Burns, said that the land occupied by the Wa-Meru was good only for "scientific" cattle raising and that the natives were incapable of utilizing it; the eviction, he said, was part of a long-range "resettlement" program undertaken to raise the living standards of the natives. In the course of his speech, however, he revealed another reason for the eviction. The British authorities, it appeared, had acted on the basis of a land-commission report which had recommended that the territory inhabited by the Wa-Meru be incorporated in a homogeneous block of cattle ranches.

By homogeneous, the commission clearly meant all-white, though the British representative insisted that nothing in the scheme was racist "in principle." Africans as well as Europeans could apply for a farm on the Wa-Meru tract if they were "suitably qualified." Sir Alan added, however, that "we must be honest about these things and appreciate that at the present stage of development it is improbable that an African will be in a position to take up large-scale ranching in this area." He failed to explain how natives too ill equipped to raise cattle in the fertile uplands would be able to make a living in the barren low country, or why the British administrators were interested in promoting large-scale ranching by whites rather than the welfare of the natives.

Though the British authorities in Tanganyika had clearly violated Chapter XI of the U. N. Charter, the Trusteeship Council rejected the Wa-Meru plea that their land be returned to them and adopted a resolution introduced by the New Zealand member which urged the British government to "grant compensation on a generous scale to help overcome the resentment which has arisen." Russia voted against the resolution, China and the Dominican Republic voted for it with reservations, El Salvador abstained. It was carried by the votes of the United States and the other five nations on the council.

When the council files its report, the Tanganyika case will probably be aired in the Assembly. The United States will then find itself in a ticklish position. So far it has indicated its support of colonialism only in the agencies which get little publicity, but if a debate on colonial policy and the trusteeship system as a whole shapes up, its position will get a thorough going-over. It will then either have to desert the colonial powers with which it is allied or risk losing the friends that Marshall aid and Point Four have won for it in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

CHADWICK HALL is a member of The Nation's *staff.*

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Poets as Heroes

LIGHT ON A DARK HORSE. By Roy Campbell. Henry Regnery Company. $4.

USHANT. By Conrad Aiken. Duell, Sloan and Pearce–Little, Brown. $4.50.

A POET should always think twice before writing his autobiography. In the first place, he is a man for whom fantasy is as truth-bearing as fact. In the second, by his very calling he is the beholder and celebrator of others. Kierkegaard made the point beautifully: "As God created man and woman, so too he fashioned the hero and the poet or orator. The poet cannot do what that other does, he can only admire, love, and rejoice in the hero." While the hero charges the dark tower, kisses the sleeping beauty, and dies without ever catching a glimpse of himself in the act, the poet watches, "for the hero is as it were his better nature," and then sings them both into eternity.

But when he writes his autobiography, a poet is assuming both roles, a risky venture even when it is attempted by someone as shrewdly mirror-wise as Jean Cocteau. Properly, a poet can be a hero only for another poet, as Rimbaud was for Verlaine. When he undertakes to be his own, he must either be very innocent—that is, hardly a poet at all—or, like Yeats, able in some canny corner of himself to work with masks, and to use one of these—the "sixty-year-old smiling public man"—and not his entire self, as his hero.

Roy Campbell is innocent. It is not only the number of dashing things he does but the confident candor with which he beholds himself doing them that makes his book so ingratiating. I cannot imagine anyone—not even the liberal, who is bound to shudder at his medieval politics (anti-Republican during the Spanish civil war)—reading "Light on a Dark Horse" and not wishing for half an hour that he had been the author. Heaven only knows what ever made him bother to write poetry. Certainly he has never lacked less roundabout "ways of happening," from big-game hunting and professional bullfighting to water-jousting and boxing. But with the same manly, unonanistic ease with which he has done these things, he has also been a poet. Listen to this: "I had forgotten about poetry when, owing to reading Mistral, I got another sort of spurt-on as a writer. Whatever poems of mine I remembered, I wrote down; and others we found in old magazines. But I lost more than half of what I'd written. When we got the rest together, we sent them to T. S. Eliot, and this was my book, 'Adamastor.'" (Poets have often wished to be thought so slap-dash, unniggling, and inadvertent about their work, but very few ever really have been.)

Beside Campbell's roistering Fortinbras, Conrad Aiken is a self-impaled Hamlet indeed, and to this extent his book is interesting, being much more like the one we should expect a self-conscious poet to write. But it is a failure. To get an image of himself in perspective, Aiken has borrowed Henry Adams's strategy of narrating autobiographical material in the third person. "Ushant" (pronounced You Shan't—"the ambiguous book with the punning title," says the author) is about a sea voyage during which a man named D. reflects on his life and loves, and the inexpressibility of it all.

But it is an artist's prime discretion to decide in the privacy of his workroom how much of his vision he can handle; to make images of whatever this amounts to; and to keep mum about the rest. Aiken will not do this. Obsessed by what he calls "these multiples of iridescent complexity," by the "subliminal of subliminals of consciousness," by the "palimpsest" character of reality, he wants to be all over the lot, to say everything, and he ends up by being nowhere except in an abstraction and saying nothing except words. Instead of a particular bird in the hand, we keep getting protests about how many there are in the bush.

Hence his style, which in monstrous mimicry of Henry James can speak of "co-conspirators in their grand, Daedalian, secret and profound, and absolutely unremitting warfare on the unconscious" (Randall Jarrell once very accurately described Aiken's style as "ectoplasmic"). Hence his bookish, over-laminated symbolism, which makes his sea not only "more than wine-dark" and "less than gong-tormented," but has his hero, D., crossing it in search of "Ariel's island," which in turn is a "substitute for the lost mother," etc. Hence his failure with D. himself, who crystallizes into nothing more than an amorphous, ruminating mouthpiece.

Worst of all, I feel that this indulgence is not compulsive, as it was in Thomas Wolfe, but deliberate. It is Aiken's final weakness to believe that in refusing to be *merely* a disciplined, selective artist, like Homer or Yeats, he has come closer to netting the "whole drama of the human soul, from the beginningless beginning to the endless end" which his vision beholds. He hasn't at all. He has simply failed to make a good book.

ROBERT PHELPS

The Iron Years

MIDCENTURY JOURNEY. By William L. Shirer. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50

IT WAS hard to imagine a better book than "Berlin Diary," but Mr. Shirer has surpassed himself with this study of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States in the iron years from 1925 to mid-century. The "Diary" was a superb study of the Nazi mind, and although it naturally took up the incredible follies of such men as Chamberlain and Daladier, it was mainly confined to Germany itself. "Midcentury Journey," however, describes the actual operations of appeasement, and although neither Mr. Shirer nor anybody else can explain the midsummer madness which permitted the occupation of the Rhineland, the annexation of Austria, the partition of Czechoslovakia, his book is a worthy companion to Winston Churchill's account in "The Gathering Storm."

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It is salutary, though painful, to read again this mournful record, and to remember that a group of German generals were on the point of deposing Hitler when word came that Chamberlain was flying over with his umbrella. I was a spectator in Downing Street the night Chamberlain made his little speech announcing that he had brought "peace with honor" back with him from Munich, and Mr. Shirer's description made me feel again the horror and unbelief which possessed me in those wretched days.

The question is whether the civilized world is again digging its own grave. In treating the four European countries in which he worked as a journalist before the war Mr. Shirer has first given an admirable brief history of each in the nineteen-thirties and then reported the results of his investigations in the years since V-E Day. He has wisely avoided the temptation of I told you so, but the juxtaposition of what happened in the thirties with what has happened since 1945 carries its own moral. Mr. Shirer is still an excellent reporter, and he has added an impressive supply of statistics and other background material.

Although the France of Daladier was as foolish as the England of Chamberlain, I felt that Mr. Shirer was perhaps a trifle too harsh on the way the French are now behaving. There is much to view with alarm in the France of today, but I do not think Mr. Shirer took into sufficient account the efforts of decent Frenchmen to avoid the mistakes that culminated in the cry, "Why die for Danzig?"

Mr. Shirer gives a cheerful account of life in Austria, where the indomitable Viennese cheerfulness survives wars and Hitlers, but he is afraid that economic weakness will bring England down at precisely the moment when "fair shares" is beginning to produce a decent life for English workmen. Germany, of course, is the country on which he is an authority, and the very moderation of his language increases the effect of his misgivings over the German policy now being followed by Mr. Acheson and the Pentagon with such grim determination. It seems so obvious now that after the First World War the British policy of rebuilding Germany as a counter-weight to France was plain suicide. It is to be hoped that our policy of rebuilding West Germany as an ally against Russia will not have equally dire results.

Mr. Shirer ends his book with a brief account of the changes twenty-five years have brought in the United States. For the most part they are changes that inspire hope for the future despite the threat of the Soviet Union. The rise of McCarthyism, of course, is a different thing, but a country that has achieved what the United States has achieved surely will rid itself of this scourge in time. Mr. Shirer appears to think so, and I agree.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Apollonian

THE WAY TO GLORY. By J. D. Scott. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IF THE life of reason embraces us long before we can even begin to embrace it—and opposing psychological schools agree that special susceptibility to it begins very early—it is not difficult to understand the novel's special fascination for the intellectual. In story-telling he can hope for delights of which he has long felt cheated. Over-scrupulous, overprone to weigh and ponder, he has been compelled by a disciplined nature to be reasonable; he has been denied the visceral joys of spontaneity, feeling, and madness. In the language of Philip Rahv he is a "paleface" rather than a "redskin," which means that in the bookstores, before he puts pen to paper, he has already taken a beating. Publishers can safely snub, and demagogic reviewers sneer without fear. He is too reflective to leaven masses, and usually gravitates toward criticizing and teaching. Yet, as the evidence is very clear, it would be a grave error to discount him entirely as a novelist. The heroic examples of Stendhal, James, Proust, Joyce, Gide, and Forster remind us that he *can* slowly find and hold an audience, that in fact the increasing complexity of the modern world seems to bestow a more lasting reward upon his analytical skills than upon the readier infectiousness of his more emotional rivals. This is so much the case that our few serious readers, who know of course that we shall have no new Tolstoys or Balzacs or Dostoevskys until we have wholly recognized our world, mistrust the readily infectious novel on sight and look first for a scrupulous mind.

This modest novel by Mr. Scott is the product of a scrupulous mind. Like the American novel with which in tone it invites comparison—"The Middle of the Journey" by Lionel Trilling—it continues the tradition of James and Forster. It is well-wrought, it is graceful, it has delicate surprises. It avoids false drama. Its hero is a sensitive, thoughtful young man thrust into a characteristically modern situation which is finally resolved almost as if it were a philosophical dialogue. Less timely and less ambitious than Trilling's book, "The Way to Glory" is the story of a well-

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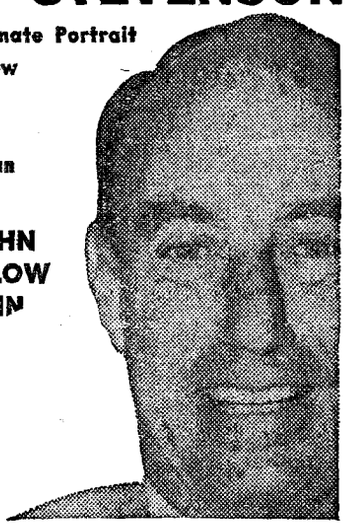

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married British business man who goes to Paris for his firm in the present post-war period, rescues a girl during a street riot, and has an affair with her. She turns out to be part Negro and to have a brother who is in difficulties with the law. At this point the plot might well have taken a Graham Greene turn or a J. Arthur Rank turn, but it doesn't, and in my opinion it is better because it doesn't. It faces up to the problems of adultery and color and the path of duty that is the way to glory with a sensibility and a credibility that are almost never Rank's and all too rarely Greene's.

Sensibility and credibility: the foremost stumbling-blocks of drama—the pleasures they offer are tame. Nowhere is "the treason of the intellectuals" more evident than in their contempt for novels by their own kind. And this is only natural: denied Dionysian exuberance by their Apollonian inhibitions, they seek it feverishly elsewhere, especially in fiction. No one worships more ardently at the cult of violence than pale cerebretonics who never pulled a trigger. We all know of the aid their mental bloodthirstiness has sometimes given dictators. Such readers would be justified in complaining that Mr. Scott's novel sacrifices many exciting possibilities to a ribbon-like style, that it is narrowed by an intellectual's typical blind spots, that it is deficient in dash and blood and vigor. But these are constitutional defects of the novel of ideas, and certain masters, from Racine to Gide, have also suffered from them. There is a quiet music in Mr. Scott's book, and those who don't demand cymbals and brasses will be able to hear it.

GERALD SYKES

The Useful and the Good

LEISURE, THE BASIS OF CULTURE. By Josef Pieper. Translated by Alexander Dru. With an Introduction by T. S. Eliot. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

THE two essays contained in this small volume are the first works of the German philosopher Josef Pieper to be published in English. Professor Pieper is a Catholic, and his largest purpose is to show that divine worship is the foundation of culture and that genuine philosophy is inseparable from theology.

The book leaves the reader both stimulated and unsatisfied, for while the author is often an excellent critic when pointing out the cultural failures of modern society in the West, he is less happy in his ideas about the dependence of culture and philosophy upon religion and theology—at least to a reader who does not share his religious convictions.

In the first essay, which gives the book its title, Pieper discusses the relation between leisure and work, saying, quite rightly, that the doctrine of work—of *practical* industry both physical and intellectual—has assumed an importance out of proportion to its place in life. Western culture is endangered by this emphasis upon the immediately *useful* to the detriment of the *good*—the good being those values dealt with by disciplines having no proper use in economic gain or in propaganda. Pieper clarifies this distinction between the useful and the good by contrasting "wage" and "honorarium," "servile arts" and "liberal arts." He points to the Soviet Union as the worst example of the modern tendency to judge everything by its immediate utilitarian value.

But the seeds of this tyranny of the useful, he argues, are found in all Western countries, and the emphasis upon work, or the practical, is found not only in physical production but also in intellectual matters. To discuss the emphasis on the practical in matters of the mind, the author takes two terms from the scholastic theory of knowledge, maintaining that *ratio*—the power of logical thought—has been stressed in modern philosophy to the detriment of *intellectus*, which is "that simple vision to which truth offers itself like a landscape to the eyes." To think by *ratio* is work, and hard work at that, but it is the unique quality of *intellectus* that it is effortless; thus in all true knowledge there is a combination of effort and ease, of work and vision.

Leisure is impossible when the doctrine of work becomes dominant over passive receptiveness and the *wonder* that things exist, the wonder which is the source of all philosophy. And leisure is not simply spare time for pleasure; it is the opposite of *acedia* in the old sense of fretfulness, of disharmony in the soul. The author quotes Baudelaire to illustrate this. "One must work, if not from taste then at least from despair. For, to reduce everything to a single truth: work is less boring than pleasure." (But Baudelaire was more complicated than this, for he also said that one of the most terrible things he could imagine was to be a *useful* person. He meant this precisely in the sense discussed in this book.)

Leisure, then, is an attitude of mind and a condition of the soul. It is a form of silence in which the soul's capacity to "answer" to the reality of the world is left undiminished. And this leisure, insists Pieper, has its origin in "celebration," which is the point at which the qualities of leisure—effortlessness, calm, and relaxation—fuse and become one. "But if celebration is the cause of leisure, then leisure can only be made possible . . . upon the same basis as the celebration of a feast: and that formation is *divine worship*."

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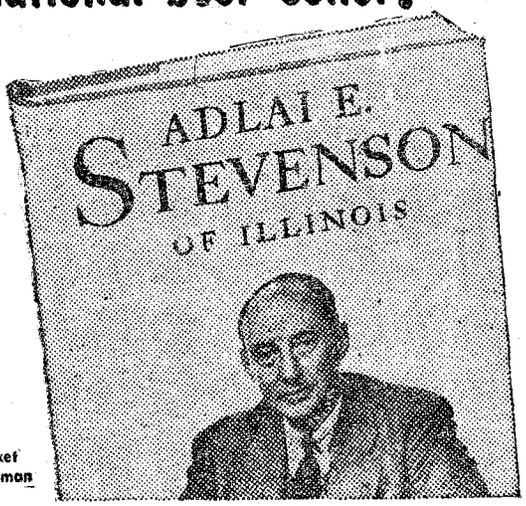

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However, there are some questions to be asked here. Why should divine worship be the only kind of celebration? Even if one agrees with the author, and one is not obliged to, that secular celebrations such as national holidays do not "celebrate" in the true sense, why is not any sensitive person able to celebrate, and to wonder at, the glories and mysteries of the universe quite apart from any communal homage or sacrifice, be it religious or secular? The relationship drawn between leisure and divine worship is unconvincing from still another point of view, for the author's definition of leisure is a blanket which warms too many feet. In all of Western literature there has been no more "leisurely" person, in the sense in which the word is treated here, than Montaigne, whom Professor Pieper would probably find an embarrassing if impressive bedfellow.

But what of the necessary connection between philosophy and theology? Pieper writes that "one cannot, in fact, philosophize without taking up a theological position." This seems to imply that for him "theology" and "metaphysics" are interchangeable terms—a curious but not very illuminating idea. It is true, of course, that such a philosophy as naturalism has and needs metaphysical support, but it is simply confusing the issue to call it theological for that reason. It is rather like trying to smooth out the visible differences between two paintings by filling the room with smoke. Perhaps the author is here implicitly criticizing logical positivism, which Eliot does explicitly in the introduction. Now, it is perfectly true that many positivists define meaningful problems out of existence with an impudence worthy of Groucho Marx, but this movement has been more valuable than Eliot, at least, is willing to admit.

Despite these objections the book remains a very good one, and on the whole a very well-translated one, judging only by the tone of the language. The style is simple and graceful, and it was written by a man who is often perceptive and always civilized, and who has the true philosophic spirit, for he could write that "philosophy never claimed to be a superior form of knowledge, but on the contrary, a form of humility."

CARL F. HOVDE

Books in Brief

THE SKIN. By Curzio Malaparte. Translated from the Italian by David Moore. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50. Curzio Malaparte, who joins every fight on the wrong side first, has combined veristic sketches of post-war Naples with a properly revolting self-portrait in his last work to be published in English. "The Skin" is a sniveling revelation of how it feels to be Malaparte, which the author has blown up to read, "how it feels to be a national of a 'liberated' country." His lurid over-

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A Poem
By Marianne Moore

REVIEWS

THE SHORES OF LIGHT
By Edmund Wilson
Reviewed by Morton Dauwen Zabel

RUMOR AND REFLECTION
By Bernard Berenson
Reviewed by S. Lane Faison, Jr.

GEORGE WASHINGTON
By Douglas Southall Freeman
Reviewed by George Genzmer

BEHIND THE HIGH HIMALAYAS
By William O. Douglas
Reviewed by Susheela Dayal

MANY MANSIONS
By Isabel Bolton
Reviewed by Ernest Jones

SERGEI M. EISENSTEIN
By Marie Seton
Reviewed by Gerald Weales

STRANGE EMPIRE
By Joseph Kinsey Howard
Reviewed by J. B. Brebner

Verse Chronicle
By Rolfe Humphries

Charles Chaplin's "Limelight"
By Manny Farber

Music by B. H. Haggin

tones *pour épater le bourgeois intellectuel* do small service to his countrymen or to Europeans in general, who, he tries to convince us, "do nothing today but laugh at and weep over one another, an ugly sign." Meanwhile, "The Skin" has everything: "inside dope" on General Donovan, recognizable vignettes of the better-known queans of Franco-Italian-American gay society, the supposed lowdown on the "conquest" of Rome by the American Fifth Army. One could go on and on, and Malaparte does. Only fleetingly the reader regrets that for a generation this superb journalist has lent his gift of observation and his capacity to recreate the things observed to the cheap trade of shocking the gullible. What Malaparte's ragbag of sorry, and often bogus, revelations gives no hint of is the element in the Italian people which has permitted them to rise after so many conquests, vigorous, with faith undimmed in the continuity and meaning of their own history.

BLOODY WILLIAMSON. By Paul M. Angle. Knopf. $4. Why has Williamson County, Illinois, a strongly "American" region, had for more than eighty years a tradition of violence that has repeatedly erupted into murder and mob killings? To answer this question Paul Angle has studied the "bloody vendetta" of the 1870's, the labor wars, the Herrin massacre, the Klan wars, and the gang war between Charlie Birger and the Shelton brothers. He failed to find a satisfactory answer, but in looking for it he has produced an extremely readable and illuminating history of America at its most lawless.

MEETINGHOUSE HILL: 1630-1783. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. Macmillan. $4. An excellent study of religion in colonial New England at a time when "the meetinghouse stood for a way of life both civil and religious . . . shaped to the divine intent." In those days the founding of a church was a matter not lightly undertaken. The inhabitants of Dedham, for example, a village of thirty families, spent two years in self-examination and in "scanning" the "spiritual condition" of every adult member of the community to determine which had achieved the "level of grace" considered acceptable for church membership. That accomplished, the meetinghouse would be raised and "wetted down" with perhaps "20 gallons of Rhumb and 20 pounds of Sugar to go with the Rhumb," and very likely some young acrobat would climb to the ridgepole with a two-gallon jug to drink to the safe completion of the job. But in spite of the care taken to insure a state of grace among parishioners, the history of the early churches was all too often a history of prolonged and bitter wrangling, and one of the virtues of this book is the ability of the author, by painting a well-rounded picture, to humanize and vitalize the granite figure of the Puritan zealot.

ARROW IN THE BLUE. By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $5. "I was born," says Koestler in this first volume of his autobiography, "at the moment when the sun was setting on the Age of Reason." The only child of a eupeptic Hungarian-Jewish promoter, he was born in Budapest, educated in Vienna, spent a hungry year in Palestine and worked for Ullstein as foreign correspondent and editor in Jerusalem, Paris, and Berlin. The book ends with his conversion to communism in 1931 at the age of twenty-six. A historian of violence who works at his best on the edge of the abyss, Koestler, in this comparatively placid chronicle, comes close to dulness except in the chapters on communism, a subject that always heats his mind to a kind of luminosity.

EDMUND PENDLETON: 1721-1803. By David John Mays. Harvard. 2 vols. $15. A well-written, well-organized, and lavishly documented biography of a Virginia statesman (1721-1803) eminent as a jurist, financial administrator, and political leader before and during the Revolution. Especially notable is its detailed picture of the political scene in Virginia from 1760 to 1783.

HENRIETTA SZOLD. By Rose Zeitlin. Dial Press. $3.50. Henrietta Szold was one of those remarkable women whose inner flame and devotion to a cause give them strength and courage to perform superhuman tasks. Her activities included the creation of Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization; the first hospital system of the Middle East; a whole complex of child-welfare institutions, nurses training schools, and

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social service programs; the Youth Aliyah and the Child and Youth Welfare Foundation. The story of her life is concisely and effectively told in this authorized biography.

YOUR MARRIAGE AND THE LAW. By Harriet F. Pilpel and Theodora Zavin. Rinehart. $3.95. All the legal aspects of marriage and divorce from breach-of-promise suits to the still unsettled problems of artificial insemination (does the wife thereby commit adultery, and is her husband the legal father of the child?) are covered in this lucid and engagingly written book.

CONTEMPORARY FRENCH POETRY. By Joseph Chiari. Philosophical Library. $3.75. M. Chiari's study is introduced with a foreword by T. S. Eliot, who approves, if not the selection, at least the method thereof, eclectic rather than catholic. The poets considered are Valéry, Supervielle, Claudel, Emmanuel, Eluard, Perse (rather skimpily), and Michaux. A chapter on surrealism, some conclusions, and a selected bibliography are included. M. Chiari's most interesting chapter is that on Supervielle, his least complimentary that on Claudel. The French poets are liberally quoted, in their own language; the style of the author, himself a poet whose prose is, however, written in English, is uninspired and dry, with considerable of a lecture-room aroma.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

BEATRICE LILLIE'S "Evening" at the Booth Theater is full of delights, but the high point is the sketch called A Star's First Night, for it brings into play, more than any other number, the art of B. Lillie. As the curtain rises, we see a star in her dressing-room glowing with the pleasure of a triumphant performance. The Star's Friend (Miss Lillie), who is giving a party for the actress and has come to claim her, enters the room—and with her a rush of philistine air that is almost palpable. It is so overpowering that within ten seconds the star, her triumph, the theater, art itself have withered before our eyes to nothing more significant than the means to a hostess's ends; and within the brief compass of a sketch Miss Lillie gives us a portrait of a patroness of the arts which is not merely hilarious but completely devastating. The final "business" is typical. On her way out she gathers up, as if she were quite unconscious of what she is doing, the star's bouquet—it will come in handy at home—and this small action is the perfect period to everything that has gone before.

The sketch called References, in which the maid pretends to be the mistress and is interviewed by another mistress in search of a maid, also gives Miss Lillie scope. It is the broadest kind of farce and calls, among other things, for an awkwardness of posture and of movement that only perfect control could bring off. There is one other sketch, Father and Son, which is very slight and a little dated. For the rest, Miss Lillie sings a number of songs of which it need only be said that even if you have heard her sing them before you will enjoy hearing and seeing her sing them again. Reginald Gardiner does a series of imitations and does them so well that he quickly overcomes and leaves far behind him the initial hazard of such undertakings—the tendency of the spectator to expect the worst. He is also a dextrous and suave master of ceremonies. "Eadie and Rack at the Pianos" accompany the proceedings satisfactorily, though I thought their "overtures" long drawn out.

If anyone could say in what Beatrice Lillie's art consists, there would be more than one B. Lillie. One can only set down a few observations. She has all the essential and formal requisites of her calling—skill, experience, sophistication, a sense of timing; yet she uses them in such a way as to create the effect of spontaneous, artless, improvised fooling meant only for friends and relations. She gives herself completely to the part she is playing—there is no slightest hint of the self-assertiveness that ruins so many performances. For all her seeming abandon she exercises such restraint that every movement counts, and a gesture in her economy is worth more than many another's whole bag of tricks.

"The Sacred Flame" (President Theater) is a problem play in which a mother kills her hopelessly crippled son in order that his wife may find happiness with another son. A nurse in love with the invalid threatens to expose the killing but is in the end dissuaded by the eloquence of the mother's defense of her act. The play is less cut and dried than it sounds, but only because W. Somerset Maugham is a skilful writer and a competent maker of plays and because the piece is very well acted.

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Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

FROM now until early January the Fauves are on view, and in full force, at the Museum of Modern Art. All thirteen are present: Matisse, Derain, Vlaminck, Marquet, Dufy, Van Dongen, Braque, Friesz, Manguin, Camoin, Puy, Valtat, and—peripherally—Rouault. The selection of examples is nothing less than magnificent, and the arrangement, against walls of varying reticent grays, allows the bold color and design full projection.

It is hard to believe that it was the same masters, in the same period of their work, who were covered in a dull and badly hung exhibition at the Musée de l'Art Moderne in Paris during the summer of 1951. It is equally hard *not* to believe that the present show will make a powerful impression on the large and growing public which is sympathetic to the expressionist emphasis in today's non-objective art. To speak truthfully, the American public has had only sporadic opportunity to see fauvist art, or, better, the work which the painters listed above exhibited between 1905 and 1907. After that year they no longer exhibited as a group and fundamental changes began to appear. We have seen fauve Matisses in relation to his other work, but not in relation to the movement itself, the name of which, like that of most of the other modern movements, is singularly inappropriate. Eighty-five paintings, thirty water colors, and forty-five drawings tell the story of a movement, and tell it with terrific concentration. Most of them date 1905, 1906, or 1907; but there are a few earlier works already in fauvist vein, and there is an introductory roomful of works by the immediate precursors, including Van Gogh, Gauguin, Redon, Signac, and Cross (a lesser known, but very influential disciple of Seurat). This room also includes a late Cézanne nude which suggests some of Matisse's powerful distortions, and a Claude Monet, Fishing Boats, which even in 1884 anticipates something of Van Gogh's and Vlaminck's diagonal velocity.

Visitors should be prepared to find themselves challenged, if not disconcerted, on several counts. Was fauve painting primarily violent or decorative? Was it the first taste of a new century or a last dazzling variation on the art-nouveau forms of the late nineteenth? If you had been a critic in the years 1905-07, how would you have supposed the subsequent work of these painters would evolve? Which were the most creative individuals among the group? Did the movement itself inspire them to paint better than they knew how? Shall we accept or reject Thomas Mann's contention that an artist's total work is inseparable, and that it is therefore proper to judge these early works retroactively in the light of what we now know?

For what they are worth, here are some reactions to these questions. The violence of fauve painting is seldom introverted or psychological, as it is in the German art which it influenced. Its violence is civilized, and except for the half-Flemish Vlaminck, who comes closest to Van Gogh, very French. In fact, if fauvism means violence, the term is better applied to the wild-beast-and-maniac painters of the 1820's and 1830's, like Géricault and Delacroix. Essentially it is no wilder than Edouard Manet's Dead Toreador of the 1860's, and Manet's early flat style is perhaps its ultimate progenitor. It is tempting to think of fauvism as primarily decorative, but in the present exhibition this theory will not work. After the movement came to an end, Matisse increasingly adopted art-nouveau forms. Although these are the very heart of Bonheur de Vivre (1905-16), they are less the rule than the exception in Matisse's early work. Arceuil, of 1899, is a formidable little landscape; and even Braque recalls Cézanne less directly than it does.

Looking into the future in 1907, who would have supposed that Derain or Marquet would end up so tender or so tame? Or that Vlaminck's fine frenzy would be directed toward merely spooky effects? Or that Dufy would turn facile decorator? Or that Cézanne's grandeur would reemerge in Braque more than in any of the others? Here is one of the most remarkable examples the history of art affords of the power of the group to inspire the individual artist. I do not altogether reject Mann's idea, even though it can, of course, lead to blind and irrelevant criticism. There is at all times, presumably, something weak about an artist who, it turns out, does not have staying power. Van Dongen is perhaps the most salient example: of them all Van Dongen's later works are the most "dated," but at least two of his paintings in this exhibition do not suffer from stiff competition. On the other hand, it is clear that Friesz was no

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more of Braque's stature in 1906 than he was in later decades, and that there is little likelihood of a revival of interest in Puy and Valtat.

After the sustained high quality of this large exhibition it is instructive to visit the smaller selections of Braque at the Paul Rosenberg Gallery and of Fernand Leger—no Fauve—at the Sidney Janis. Of twenty-two Braques painted between 1924 and 1952, only two large still lifes (numbers 4 and 12) seemed to me to project anything approaching Braque's full power. But the Legers, on the contrary, were almost invariably eloquent of his clean and classic kind of force. How important is selection to an artist's reputation?

In 1905 most of the Fauves were in their twenties, and Matisse, the oldest, was just over thirty-five. Bultman, who has recently concluded a show at the Kootz Gallery, is more fauvist than they but not so articulate, and no younger. The dangers of prophecy are clear enough after a visit to the Museum of Modern Art. Nevertheless, I suspect that Bultman's bold scale, his glowing color, his richly contrasting blacks, and his rhythmic pauses will gain in clarity as he—and I—go on.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of the recently issued HMV LP records offers the Mermaid Theater performance of Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas." And with the lustrous beauty of Flagstad's voice, the flawless phrasing and affecting expressiveness of her singing (in perfectly enunciated English), with Elisabeth Schwarzkopf's exquisite singing (in her quaintly imperfect English), with the excellent work of the other soloists, the chorus, the orchestra, and the conductor, Geraint Jones, and with the beautiful recorded sound—with all these the record is one of the events of the year. That is the first thing to say about it; but there is more to say: the circumstances which led to the performance are interesting in connection with the controversy about Flagstad that caused the picketing of her concerts when she returned here after the war.

The accompanying booklet informs us that in 1947 the British actor and director Bernard Miles and his family became friends with Flagstad, who spent a Christmas with them in the house that had been a boys' school. They told her of their plan to turn the former assembly hall of the school into a little Elizabethan theater; and she asked to be invited to sing in it. With the financial help of many distinguished artists the Mermaid Theater was built; and in September 1951 Flagstad sang without fee (as did the other members of the cast) in twenty performances of "Dido and Aeneas." It was an example of the generosity to which Flagstad can be impelled by strong personal friendships and loyalties; and it is these that have on occasion led her into less admirable behavior. Friendship for her accompanist Edwin McArthur, years ago, impelled her to an attempt to get him into the Metropolitan as a conductor—an attempt which reached the extreme of a maneuver to force Erich Leinsdorf out; and in the intensity of her generous feeling for McArthur she was blind to the ungenerous and shocking nature of her behavior toward Leinsdorf. And it was a similar intensity of personal loyalty to her husband that made her blind to what others found questionable in her determination to join him in German-occupied Norway and her willingness to pass through German territory to get there. This, and only this, was what the Norwegians held against her; it was something they were entitled not to forgive her for, but which didn't justify Americans in trying to prevent her from singing for other Americans who wanted to hear her; and eventually even the Norwegians forgave her: I have kept a newspaper clipping with a report of the ovation she received when she sang in Norway a year ago for the first time since the war.

Even after the facts to the contrary had been established the pickets continued to call Flagstad a pro-Nazi collaborationist; and on the other hand there are people today who proclaim the snow-white innocence of Furtwängler. Another clipping I have held on to is a paragraph in Kingsley Martin's column in the *New Statesman and Nation* on the occasion of Furtwängler's reappearance in London: "H. N. Brailsford sends me a note of the facts proved before the DeNazification Tribunal which acquitted him. Never a party member . . . in 1933, when few realized what Nazi rule would mean, he accepted the vice-presidency of the Chamber of Music. The title of Staatsrat was then conferred on him. After some experience of the regime, Furtwängler in 1934 wrote a formal letter of protest and resigned his title, his Vice-presidency, his official post as Director of the State Opera, and his conductorship of the Berlin Philharmonic. . . . Fearing its ruin, the orchestra besought Furtwängler to return. So he met Goebbels and consented to come back on conditions; he should rank as a private musician only, should never be called on to conduct at official functions, would not 'Heil Hitler' at his concerts, etc."

This was written after the publication of Berta Geissmar's "Two Worlds of Music" ("Dictator and Jackboot" in England), in which Furtwängler's devoted secretary writes bitterly of Goebbels's ingratitude for the success as political-cultural propaganda of a tour by the Berlin Philharmonic in Italy in April 1934 that she arranged on condition that Furtwängler be received in audience by Mussolini who gave him an Italian decoration. She writes also about Furtwängler's first appearance after his submission (for it was that), in April 1935, which was at an official function, the *Winterhilfe* concert attended by Hitler and the entire government, and at which occurred the famous cordial handshake of Hitler and Furtwängler that Dr. Geissmar rightly calls a "symbolic gesture." And I might add that only a couple of months ago a friend told me of having turned on the radio for a

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Furtwängler performance of Beethoven's Ninth from Paris in 1937, and having turned it off when Furtwängler, after playing "Deutschland über alles," began to play the Horst Wessel Song. By 1937 everyone knew what Nazi rule meant; but even in 1933 it was evident that it meant the silencing of Schnabel, Bruno Walter, Klemperer, and other Jewish musicians; and this was as evident to Furtwängler as to Fritz Busch, who made a gesture of protest and solidarity with his fellow-artists by leaving Germany. Principle would have caused Furtwängler to leave too; opportunism caused him to stay, to associate himself with the regime that persecuted his fellow-artists, to lend himself to its purposes. His offense, in the words of the *Times* correspondent who covered his trial, was that of "so overlooking moral values and fixed principles that he was . . . willing to make maximum use of a regime which he alleged was obnoxious to him."

But I don't think this would justify picketing his concerts if he came here; nor did it justify the picketing of Menuhin's concerts in Israel because he had played with Furtwängler: what to think of these musicians' behavior, and whether to listen or not to listen to them, are things which everyone should be allowed to decide for himself. For me the decision would be easy since I dislike Furtwängler's musical performances, including three I have heard recently—of Beethoven's Seventh on one HMV LP, and Mozart's G minor and the Brahms-Haydn Variations on another. The recorded sound of the Vienna Philharmonic, dubbed from 78s, is not very good in the Mozart, better in the Brahms, and best in the Beethoven.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT PHELPS contributes to various magazines, including the *New Republic* and the *Progressive*.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON, author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain," is the United Nations correspondent of the New York *Times*.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Non-Voter's Plea

Dear Sirs: I am seventeen years old and cannot vote in November. In spite of this I feel that the outcome of the election will have a lasting effect on my future. For this reason I did a lot of studying this summer on the issues and the candidates. I soon realized that the greatest threat to a free America (and to me) was the point of view represented by people like McCarthy, Jenner, Cain, and Kem. When I read what they had said, I was scared; I was scared because I was afraid that they would destroy the kind of America we learn about in school.

I wanted to do something about them. And so last week I mailed a money order for $10 to the Madison, Wisconsin, headquarters of McCarthy's Democratic opponent, Thomas Fairchild.

It is my hope that every single person reading this—whether he is old enough to vote or not—will also mail a contribution, large or small, to help secure the future of a free America.

PETER C. ROBERTSON

Williamstown, Mass.

Luther Evans Misquoted

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of September 20 I am quoted in H. H. Wilson's article, Why They Voted for McCarthy, as saying that if an author of a specific book "were preaching communism, it would be O. K. to remove the book" from a library.

I regret to have to inform you that I never have said anything of the sort. I realize that Mr. Wilson got his information from the New York *Times* of October 21, 1951, but that does not make it correct. My numerous speeches and writings on the subject of freedom of libraries from censorship defend quite a different doctrine.

LUTHER H. EVANS,
Librarian of Congress

Washington

The Nixon Soap Opera

Dear Sirs: Norman Redlich's A Handbook for Demagogues [*The Nation* October 4] reflects, I believe, the sentiments of most sober-thinking Americans. Except to those blinded by partisanship, Nixon's "vindication" was more the emotional appeal of an opportunistic, unscrupulous political climber to the maudlin and gullible for sympathy than a convincing presentation of the facts. . . .

A person's amorality is not always measured by a standard yardstick. What may be considered a minor moral infraction in a lower-echelon official cannot be regarded as so minor in a Senator running for the Vice-Presidency.

To judge the Nixon episode one need only ask whether Eisenhower, engaged in a "crusade" for political morality, would have accepted Nixon as his running-mate had he known anything about the Senator's fund. The answer is an emphatic no.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

The Mormon Priesthood: For Whites Only?

Dear Sirs: My co-religionist, Roy W. Doxey, in your issue of August 16, takes me to task for "grossly misrepresenting" the Mormon doctrine in reference to the Negro as presented by me in *The Nation,* May 24, 1952. Specifically, Mr. Doxey attempts to refute my statement that the "blessings of the Mormon church cannot be extended to anyone with Negro blood" by listing six "blessings" which Negroes may receive from the church.

Theoretically, Mr. Doxey is right, but practically speaking his statement is misleading. He knows quite well that the church has not only not tried to make these blessings available to the Negro but has deliberately avoided doing so. Any missionary knows that he is not supposed to tell the Negro of these blessings or attempt to convert him. Negroes have been turned away from Mormon chapels in Salt Lake City. It is interesting to speculate on what would happen if a Negro should apply for "membership by baptism" in the church! They just are not welcome.

The crucial matter, of course, is that the Negro cannot "hold the priesthood." Even if the "blessings" enumerated by Doxey were made available, one could hardly expect a self-respecting Negro to seek fellowship with a group which regards his blood as "tainted" and the color of his skin "a curse of God." He could never be more than a second-class citizen in the church.

St. Paul, Minn. LOWERY NELSON

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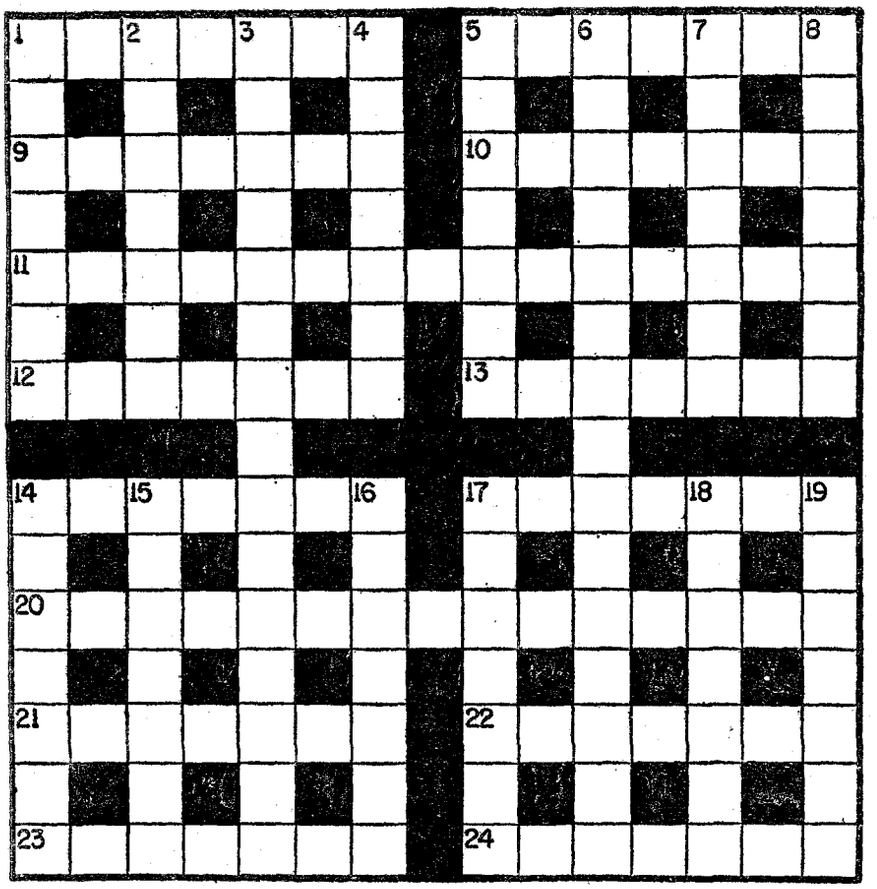
Crossword Puzzle No. 486

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Rise, in a way, expected to produce the remainder. (7)
5 Found at last to be a matter of course. (7)
9 In fine fettle, the chiseler! (7)
10 One of these might be a branch of the Cervidae family. (7)
11 The expense o' grotesque things? (3, 4, 2, 6)
12 They might be wayward rascals, but still good sailors. (7)
13 A strong and well-constituted man does his experiences, said Nietzsche. (7)
14 I'm ready for examination at this time! (7)
17 Discovers something new in apertures, perhaps. (7)
20 The bearing of a person takes skill with a bearer. (8, 7)
21 Associated with peak and pine by Macbeth's witches. (7)
22 A title or a sign—though once called the equivalent of a miss. (7)
23 Sounds like hardships for those whose occupation seems fitting. (7)
24 Plungers might not be so good in the long run! (7)

DOWN

1 An account of the musical performance, perhaps. (7)
2 The sun and moon might cause temporary loss of sight. (7)
3 It might show forethought to do it, if afraid of a partial loss. (9, 6)
4 Registers. (7)
5 Indulged in raillery. (7)
6 If you're easily put out, one of these shouldn't be too high for you. (7, 8)
7 They used to use these, but not to draw from the well. (7)
8 Makes a stand, yet the thing sort of sits on end. (7)
14 Wind, when traveling slowly. (7)
15 Mild cursing? Women might not like it! (7)
16 The *Kon-Tiki* boys? (They might be on the beam.) (7)
17 Cut into. (7)
18 Something that's charged up over some disgusting combination. (7)
19 Runs in bands, perhaps. (7)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 485

ACROSS:—1 FLAG OFFICER; 9 OUTCASTS; 10 GLIERE; 11 THYROID; 12 BANEFUL; 14 NUTMEG; 15 LANDLADY; 17 KEY LARGO; 20 UBANGI; 22 LIBERTY; 24 EDITORS; 26 DOMAIN; 27 CARPINGS; 28 STEAM SHOVEL.

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